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CONTENTS
VOLUME XXIII, PARTS I-IV
1973-74

INDEX TO TITLES

PAGES

Aṣṭaka Vaiśvāmītra: A Study—Umesh Chandra Sharma	169
(The) Bhagavad-Gītā—A Source of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin—Barend A. Van Nooten	143
Cocks in Ancient Indian Life—Aparna Chattopadhyay	197
Critical Examination of the Paippalāda Samhitā (Kāṇḍa IV)—Hukam Chand Patyal	261
Daśagrīva or Daśānana of the Rāmāyaṇa—S. N. Batra	40
(The) Date of Āraṅg Copper Plate Inscription of Bhīmasena II—A Review—Nisar Ahmad	335
Dna and Kuṇḍalinī—C. H. Pathak	192
(A) Fresh Interpretation of the Ṛgvedic Śīprā—S. N. Shukla	12
Generative Semantics and Pāṇini's Kārakas—Anil C. Sinha	27
Horse in Ancient India—S. D. Dogra	54
(The) Initial Period of the Silver Coinage of the Sātavāhanas—Ajay Mitra Shastri	324
Is Vasudevahiṇḍī a Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā?—J. C. Jain	59
(The) King and the Dice—N. N. Bhattacharyya	288
(The) Madanikās of Pālampēṭ—Y. Gopal Reddy	219
Middle Indo-Aryan Studies-X—K. R. Norman	64
Narrative Sculptures from Markandī—A. P. Jamkhedkar	202
(A) Note on Aśokan Art—Aparna Chattopadhyay	308
(A) Note on Bṛhaddevatā 5.90—P. D. Navathe	164
(A) Note on Kaka-Peyā Nadī "A Crow-Drinkable River"—Madhav Deshpande	155
(A) Note on the Śāranātha Image of Agni—P. K. Agrawala	313
On the Meaning of the Title "Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad"—Vishnu Prasad Bhatt	18
Peacock in Indian Art—Krishna Lal	1
Physico-Mathematical Concepts in the Puruṣasūktam—V. B. Cholkar	269

Pratihāra Sculptures from Choṭi-Khāṭu, Rajasthan—R. C. Agrawala	72
Pulakeśin II and Persia—Birendra Kumar Singh	329
Rāmāpuram Stone Inscriptions of Vikramāditya I—G. Jawaharlal	316
Relations of India with Middle Eastern Countries during the 16th-17th Centuries—Z. A. Desai	75
Religious Life in Ancient India as described in the She-kia-Fang-Che— —Viney Kumar	175
(A) Scene from the Life of Lord Buddha from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa—K. Raghavachary	311
Trivaraṇagara and the Date of the Pāṇḍava King Tivara of South Kosala —S. Sankaranarayanan	209
Two Child-Characters of Bhavabhūti—Mahendra Kumar Varma	180
Two Gaṅgolātāl, Gwalior, Inscriptions of the Tomara Kings of Gwalior —Sant Lal Katore	342
Udayaprabha's Śabdabrahmollāsa—A Study in the Poetical Synthesis of the Philosophy of the External Verbum with the Non-Absolutistic Jaina Mysticism—N. M. Kansara	182
Vedic Texts on the Manufacture of Pottery—Wilhelm Rau	137
(The) Vṛttikāra in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Kārikā—K. P. Jog	283

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

<i>Amarakośa</i> : With the unpublished South Indian Commentaries <i>Amara padavivṛti</i> of Liṅgayasūrin and the <i>Amara padapārijāta</i> of Mallinātha, critically edited with Introduction by Prof. A. A. Rāmanāthan, The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras 20, India; 1971—Reviewed by J. M. Shukla.	119
<i>Anārkalī</i> : A New Sanskrit Play in Ten Acts by Kavi-Kokila, Sakalakālākalāpa, Vidvat-Kavindra, Padmabhusana Dr. V. Raghavan; Published by the Sanskrit Raṅga, Madras, September, 1972; Price Rs. 3-50; pp. xvi+92—Reviewed by S. G. Kantawala	121
<i>Conflict in Sanskrit Drama</i> : by Minakshi L. Dalal, Published by Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd. (Edn. '73), pages 342, Price Rs. 50/—Reviewed by T. S. Nandi	243
<i>Gujarātano Rājakiya ane Sāmskr̥tika Itihāsa</i> , Vol. I; Itihāsani Pūrvabhūmikā: ed. by R. C. Parikh and H. G. Shastri, Pub. by Sheth B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad-9, 1972, pp. 24+610 +8 Maps + 1 graph + 31 Plates; Price Rs. 9-75—Reviewed by S. N. Chowdhary	241

- Gujarātano Rājakīya ane Sārśkṛtika Itihāsa*, Vol. II, Maurya-kalathi Gupta-kāla (Maurya Age to Gupta Age) ed. by R. C. Parikh and H. G. Shastri, Pub. by B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad-9, first edition, 1972, pp. 36+346 with 32 illustrations, Price Rs. 9-75—Reviewed by S. C. Misra 363
- India as seen in the Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira*, by Ajay Mitra Shastri, Published by Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, 1969, pp. xxiv+556, Plates XXI; Price Rs. 50.00—Reviewed by U. P. Shah 366
- Mādhava Dravyagūṇa (Bhāva-Svabhāva-Vāda)*: Edited by Dr. P. V. Sharma, Senior Professor and Head of the Department of Dravyagūṇa, Faculty of Medical Sciences, Banaras Hindu University; Published by the Chowkhamba Vidyabhavana-Āyurveda Granthamālā 72 (Banaras); pages 122+18, Price Rs. 12/—Reviewed by Bapalal Vaidya 251
- Masterpieces of the Female Form in Indian Art*: With an Introduction by Rustam I. Mehta, Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd., Bombay, 1972, pp. 56+100 Plates; Price Rs. 47/—Reviewed by U. P. Shah 365
- Sanskrit Dramas of the Twentieth Century*, Vol. I, by Dr. Usha Satyavrat; Pub. by the authoress at 'Surabhi', 3/54, Roop Nagar, Delhi-7; Sole distributors Meharchand Lachhmandas, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1971; pp. 18+444; Price Rs. 65/—Reviewed by J. P. Thaker 368
- Sudamaṣaṇacariu of Muni Nayanandī*: Edited with Introduction (in Hindi), Hindi Translation and Sanskrit Gloss etc. by Dr. Hiralal Jain, Prakrit Jain Institute Research Publication Series, Vol. III, Pub. by Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Vaishali, Royal 8vo, pp. 48+322; 1970, Price Rs. 10.60—Reviewed by A. N. Upadhye 118

MISCELLANEOUS

- Obituary*: (1) Dr. Hiralal Jain—A. N. Upadhye 124
- (2) Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu—K. V. Sarma 131
- (3) Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt—Aruna Halḍar 372
- (4) Prof. Mashusudan Chimanlal Modi—H. C. Bhayani 257
- Select Contents of Oriental Journals*—P. H. Joshi 107
- Select Contents of Oriental Journals*—P. H. Joshi 231
- Select Contents of Oriental Journals*—P. H. Joshi 356

INDEX TO AUTHORS

Agrawala, P. K.—A Note on the Sāranātha Image of Agni	313
Agrawala, R. C.—Pratihāra Sculptures from Choṭī-Khāṭu, Rajasthan	72
Batra, S. N.—Daśagrīva or Daśānana of the Rāmāyaṇa	40
Bhatt, Vishnu Prasad—On the Meaning of the Title “Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad”	18
Bhattacharyya, N. N.—The King and the Dice	288
Chattopadhyay, Aparna—A Note on Aśokan Art	308
Chattopadhyay, Aparna—Cocks in Ancient Indian life	197
Cholkar, V. B.—Physico-Mathematical Concepts in the Puruṣasūktam	269
Chowdhary, S. N.—Gujarātano Rājakiya ane Sāṁskṛtika Itihāsa, Vol. I (Review)	241
Desai, Z. A.—Relations of India with Middle Eastern Countries during the 16th-17th Centuries	75
Deshpande, Madhav—A Note on Kaka-Peyā Nadi “A Crow-Drinkable River”	155
Dogra, S. D.—Horse in Ancient India	54
Jain, J. C.—Is Vasudevahiṇḍī a Jaina Version of the Bṛhatkathā?	59
Jamkhedkar, A. P.—Narrative Sculptures from Markandi	202
Jawaharlal, G.—Rāmāpuram Stone Inscriptions of Vikramāditya—I	316
Jog, K. P.—The Vṛttikāra in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyakārikā	283
Kansara, N. M.—Udayaprabha's Śabdabrahmollāsa—A Study in the Poetical Synthesis of the Philosophy of the Eternal Verbum with the Non-Absolutistic Jaina Mysticism	182
Kantawala, S. G.—Anārkalī (Review)	121
Katare, Sant Lal—Two Gaṅgolātāl, Gwalior, Inscriptions of the Tomara Kings of Gwalior	342
Lal, Krishna—Peacock in Indian Art	1
Misra, S. C.—Gujarāt-no Rājakiya ane Sāṁskṛtika Itihāsa, Vol. II (Review)	363
Nandi, T. S.—Conflict in Sanskrit Drama (Review)	243
Navathe, P. D.—A Note on Bṛhaddevatā S. 90	164
Nisar, Ahmad—The Date of Āraṅg Copper Plate Inscription of Bhīmasena II—A Review	335

Nooten, Barend A. Van—The Bhagavad-Gītā—A Source of the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin	143
Norman, K. R.—Middle Indo-Aryan Studies—X	64
Pathak, C. H.—Dna and Kuṇḍalinī	192
Patyal, Hukam Chand—Critical Examination of the Paippalāda Saṁhitā (Kāṇḍa IV)	261
Raghavachary, K.—A Scene from the Life of Lord Buddha from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa	311
Rau, Wilhelm—Vedic Texts on the Manufacture of Pottery	137
Reddy, Y. Gopal—The Madanikās of Pālāmpet	219
Sankaranarayanan, S.—Trivaranagara and the Date of the Pāṇḍava King Tivara of South Kosala	209
Shah, U. P.—India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira (Review)	366
Shah, U. P.—Masterpieces of the Female Form in Indian Art (Review)	365
Sharma, Umesh Chandra—Aṣṭaka Vaiśvāmītra: A Study	169
Shastri, Ajay Mitra—The Initial Period of the Silver Coinage of the Sātavāhanas	324
Shukla, J. M.—Amarakośa (Review)	119
Shukla, S. N.—A Fresh Interpretation of the Ṛgvedic Śiprā	12
Singh, Birendra Kumar—Pulakeśin II and Persia	329
Sinha, Anil C.—Generative Semantics and Pāṇini's Kāraṇas	27
Thaker, J. P.—Sanskrit Dramas of the Twentieth Century (Review)	368
Upadhye, A. N.—Sudāṃsaṇacariu of Muni Nayanandī (Review)	118
Vaidya, Bapalal G.—Mādhava Dravyaguṇa (Bhāva-Svabhāva-Vāda) (Review)	251
Varma, Mahendra Kumara—Two Child-characters of Bhavabhūti	180
Viney Kumar,—Religious Life in Ancient India as described in the She-Kia-Fang-Che	175

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PEACOCK IN INDIAN ART*

By

KRISHNA LAL, New Delhi

Art is a universal language of communication. Even before man could read or write, he was scratching with sharp flints to draw birds, figures of animals, trees and whatever he saw around in nature. Even later, with the developed intellect when he started creating objects of utility, he demonstrated his creative skill on them and made them look beautiful.

Symbols play an important part in the history of Indian art. Man always tries to find out means to give a visual expression to his abstract ideas. "The subject may be an immortal deity or a mortal man or an abstract idea. So it has a dual purpose, firstly to make the artist himself realise in an idealistic concrete form his abstract idea before setting out its copy in an art form, and secondly to make people, with the use of these symbols and emblems realise to the same extent his abstract conception."¹ This accounts for the use of a variety of symbols in Indian art also.

The peacock, the National bird of India, at once majestic and graceful, with a beautiful form and charming colours, caught the fancy of the Indian artisans from the very early times, who used it profusely in their artistic creations. The peacock symbol occurs prominently in Indian art. It is a bird commonly

* It may be noted here that a paper entitled "Peacock: The National Bird of India" by Mr. J. P. Thaker was published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XII, No. 4, pp. 425-46.

found all over the country. Popularly called 'mōra' or 'mayūra', it is famous for its beautiful plumage which has long feathers ending with colourful eyes. These eyes were greatly admired by the primitive folk, who made up interesting stories of their origin. The Hindu myth-makers invented the purpose of the spots in its plumage. It is said that once Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā, invaded Heaven to conquer the gods. Indra, who was the head of the gods, could not defeat him. He ran away and took shelter under the wings of a peacock. For this act of kindness, Indra conferred a boon on the peacock, saying, "I am *Sahasrākṣa* or the possessor of one thousand eyes, as you have saved my life from the demon king's attack, I am pronouncing this blessing on you, who are plain-plumaged and dull-coloured bird, should henceforth, also be the possessor of thousand eyes."² As a result of this blessing of Indra, the peacock was transformed into a beautiful bird with a colourful plumage.

The peacock finds an honourable place among the decorative motifs of Indian art, such as pottery, sculptures, terra-cottas, bronzes, textiles, paintings, applied arts and several other objects of daily use.

The peacock was considered to be an auspicious bird by the people of the Indus Valley, because of its association with the Sun. It is painted on the pottery from Cemetery 'H' at Harappa datable to c. 1700 B.C., where it is shown carrying a dead body in the stomach (Pl. III, Pl. I, fig. 1). "It was invested with the miraculous power of transporting the metamorphosed subtle body of the dead person to the solar world or to help it as a guide to cross the mighty gulf of darkness that beset the path leading to the land of Bliss."³ The peacocks with extended plumages or broad tails or perched on pedestal, fashioned in the medium of baked clay or terracotta, have also been found from the ancient sites of Lothal, Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa⁴ going back to circa 2350 B.C., belonging to the Harappa Culture.

During the R̥gvedic Age, people considered the peacock as the most beautiful bird. In the *R̥gveda Samhitā*⁵ Indra's horse is described as *Mayūrarōman* meaning a horse having hair like peacock feathers and *Mayūrasēpa* or tail like the plumage of the peacock. Again, the *Yajurveda Samhitā*⁶ informs us that the peacock was sacrificed in the ritual of *Aśvamédha* sacrifice in order to make the horse's journey to heaven easier. In the *Atharvaveda*,⁷ it is mentioned that the peahen destroys the poisonous effect of a scorpion.

The representation of the peacock during the early historical period is found on the silver punchmarked coins of about the 4th-3rd century B.C., where it is shown perched on a mound (Pl. I, fig. 2.).

In Rock Edict I at Girnār,⁸ the Emperor Aśoka (c. 273-232 B.C.), restricted the slaying of animals and birds to one deer and two peacocks for the royal kitchen.

In a fragmentary railing pillar of the Śuṅga period (2nd century B.C.), from Gwalior, displayed in the National Museum, New Delhi a beautiful peacock is depicted in a forest along with deer.

In the 1st century B.C., the peacock in pairs with long plumages, embellished the back of the North Gateway and the right bracket of East Gateway of the Buddhist stupa at Sanchi. (Pl. I. fig. 3).

In Early Indian Art, the divinities are shown wearing turbans, which at times, are decorated with crests depicting among others, the richly ornamented figure of a dancing peacock.⁹

A Kuṣāṇa sculpture belonging to the 2nd century A.D., showing Śrī Devī, the goddess of abundance, standing on a full vase from which issue forth lotuses, is adorned with an armlet shaped like a dancing peacock (Pl. IV, Pl. I, Fig. 5). On its back also two peacocks are shown sitting face to face with full plumages.

On an important pillar from Lal Bhagat (near Kanpur), of the Kuṣāṇa period (2nd century A.D.), showing the Sun god, a very graceful and charming figure of a dancing peacock is chiselled with a remarkable skill¹⁰ (Pl. I, fig. 6).

The Yaudheya kings worshipped Skanda, the younger son of Śiva and the God of War. The peacock, the mount of Skanda, symbolising energy and strength, was considered sacred and the Yaudheyas took pride in calling themselves as *Mattamayūrakas*.¹¹ The peacock finds representation on their coins along with Skanda as *Mahāsēna*.

In the 5th century A.D., Kumāragupta I issued gold coins on which his queen is shown feeding grapes to a peacock on one side (Pl. I, fig. 7) and the God of War riding a peacock on the other (Pl. I, fig. 8). Kumāragupta I (414-455 A.D.) also issued silver coins on which the peacock occupies the entire space with a legend. The silver coins of this type were issued by Skandagupta (455-480 A.D.). In the 6th century A.D., Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa king, issued silver coins showing a peacock on the reverse.

The peacock motif was not only popular with the stone-carver or the painter but it was also a great favourite with the clay-modellers. Especially, on festive occasions, beautiful figures of gods and goddesses, animals and birds were made by the deft artisans. Among these, the peacock was the most attractive with all its splash of pleasing colours. Kālidāsa has given a picturesque description of a terracotta peacock in his immortal classic—*Śākuntala*.¹² He further makes a mention in the *Méghadūta*¹³ about the sportive peacock (*Kṛīḍā-mayūra*), which was trained to dance to the tune of clappings and the jinglings of bracelets of the Yakṣa's wife.

The sculptural art of Gujarat is infused with the grace and delicacy of the Gupta art traditions. A remarkable sculpture from Mahuḍī, Kojyarka shrine,

North Gujarat and dating from the 5th century A.D., showing baby Skanda carried by a Gaṇa on his shoulder and being fondled with all the motherly affection by Pārvaṭī, has a beautiful peacock which helps in the identification of the icon as *Skanda-Mātā*.¹⁴

In the group of *Sapta-Mātṛkās* or the Seven Mother Goddesses, *Kaumārī* has a peacock as her mount.¹⁵

Yet another pleasing carving from Tintoi (*Shāmājī*) datable to the 7th century A.D., and showing the figures of Śiva as *Vīṇādharamūrti* with his consort Pārvaṭī carrying baby Skanda in her hands, has an equally charming portrayal of the peacock.¹⁶

In a rare bronze image of six-headed Skanda, recently acquired by the National Museum, his attribute, the spear and his vehicle, the peacock, are shown personified on his either side as *Śakti Dēvī* and *Mayūra-Puruṣa* (Pl. I, fig. 6). Probably, the provenance of this bronze sculpture is the Chamba Hills and it is a product of the 6th-7th century A.D. A fine sculpture of Kārttikeya datable to the 9th-10th century A.D., flanked by the personified weapon and the vehicle comes from Baijanātha.¹⁷

In a beautiful carving from Paharpur (Bengal) of the 7th century A.D., showing offering of poison to Śiva, the deity is shown holding an umbrella of peacock-feathers (*Mayūrachhatra*), which though rare in Indian art, is often found in Śiva's representations from Cambodia.¹⁸

Paharpur, famous for its wealth of terracotta art, treats with a variety of subjects. On one of its plaques is depicted a peacock engaged in a deadly fight with a cobra on which it is shown pouncing with its paws and in another plaque it is holding a serpent in its beak in an attitude which is suggestive of its triumphant victory (7th century A.D.)¹⁹ (Pl. I, fig. 9).

In the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, there is a beautiful sculpture of the Gupta period, 5th century A.D., showing Karttikeya sitting on his *vāhana*, the peacock with fanned tail.

The excavations at the ancient site of *Ahichchhatra*, district Bareilly, has yielded a rich crop of terracotta figurines. Of these, a fragmentary one shows Karttikeya mounted on a peacock, which has a bell tied around its neck. It belongs to c. 8th century A.D.²⁰

A finely carved peacock as the *vāhana* of Karttikeya adorns the Someśvara temple from *Mukhalingam*, datable to the 9th-10th century A.D. During the Chola period in the 10th century A.D., bronze images were cast in which peacock as the *vāhana* of Skanda is usually shown standing at the back, holding a snake.

In Jainism, Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, and *Harinaṭgameśin*, the Commander-in-Chief of the army and the God of Nativity have the peacock as their vehicle.²¹ In Buddhism also *Mahāmāyūrī* is shown mounted on a peacock.²²

Paintings:

In the medium of painting, the peacock is shown as a domesticated bird. In one of the wall-paintings in Cave XVII of the famous Ajanta Caves datable to the 5th century A.D., two peacocks are shown perched majestically on the roof of the palace.²³

In miniature paintings also the peacock finds an important place in the illustration of the *Rāga* and *Rāgiṇī* themes. In *Kakubha Rāgiṇī*, it represents the absent lover and sympathises with the love-lorn lady. In the representation of *Mēgha-Malhāra Rāgiṇī* also, sometimes the dancing peacock is shown rejoicing at the prospect of rains and thus arousing feeling of intense love amongst the lovers (Pl. V.).

In Pahari miniatures, the peacock is often introduced as a domesticated bird perched on the house tops.

Jahangir, the Mughal Emperor, was very fond of nature and had several studies of animals, birds, flowers and plants made by his court artists. The peacock was also minutely observed and faithfully portrayed.

Besides, some medicinal properties which the peacock is supposed to possess in curing snake bites, etc., its feathers help in eradicating evil spirits and diseases according to some beliefs of the tribal people.²⁴

Its beautiful feathers are used in making *mōrchhal* or a fly-whisk and also hand-fans. The great honour given to the peacock feathers is evident from the fact that they decorate the crown of Lord Kṛṣṇa which is known as *mōra-mukūṭa*.

During the rainy season when the sky is over-cast with dark thunderous clouds with splashes of lightning, the peacock performs the unique dance of rejoicing and its melodious voice beckons the peahen. Fascinated by this pleasing sight, man tried to copy the peacock dance or *mayūra-nṛtya*, and attires himself in brilliant costumes decorated with peacock feathers. The peacock dance is a particularly common mode of joyous expression among the *Ādivāsīs* of *Santhāl Pargunās* of Bihar.

The Mughal Emperor Shahjahan was so very much fascinated by the beautiful form of the peacock that he ordered his royal throne—the *Takht-i-Tāus* to be fashioned after this bird.

Applied Arts :

Applied art is more universal in its scope and expressive of the national character as it effects the daily life and habits of every individual. Vases and utensils of domestic or ritualistic use have played an important part in the cultural life of the people through time and space. The household and ritual

vessels of metal, clay and other materials furnish valuable documents for the study of any culture. The clothes we wear, the way we decorate our homes, all throw light on our culture and aesthetic taste.

In the applied arts and textiles also the peacock finds an honourable place as a decorative motif. Due to the perishable nature of organic materials, hardly any early example has survived. But the tradition of the peacock motif continues till the present day.

Ivory :

Both the literary and archaeological evidences testify to the antiquity of the craft of ivory carving in India. An inscription from the gateway of the Sanchi stupa refers to a guild of ivory-carvers from *Vidiśā*,²⁵ in the 1st century B.C. The rich find of delicate ivory carvings from Begram and other sides like Taxila and Ter further provide examples of this ancient craft. A fragmentary rectangular plaque from Begram shows a peacock perched under an *Asoka* tree,²⁶ which is datable to the 2nd century A.D. (Pl. I, fig. 4). In medieval India, ivory workers were active in different parts of the country and the ivory-inlay door of *Asif-i-Skarif* in Bijapur in 1580 A.D., provides a fine example at the beginning of the Islamic rule in India. The ivory carving continued through the centuries at different centres of India and it is still a living art, chiefly in Mysore, Kerala and some parts of northern India. Due to its perishable nature very few examples of early workmanship have survived. Nevertheless, ivory-carvers took a great fancy for the depiction of the beautiful peacock in their artistic creations whether as a colourful toy (Pl. VI), or on bracket figures (Pl. II, fig. 23), ear-rings, boxes, caskets and handles of paper knives, etc.

Wood :

Wood has been extensively used both for architectural purposes and for decorative carving from the Mauryan times (3rd century B.C.) or even earlier.²⁷ Not much material of the early period has survived the ravages of time, but from the medieval period several examples both of secular and religious nature exist. Decorative wooden panels from the temple chariots, door-frames and lintels are intricately worked with a variety of designs, like scrolls, floral meanders, rosettes, birds animals and geometrical patterns. In South India, even life-sized figures of peacock with all its gay colours, were beautifully carved as the vehicle of *Subrahmanya*, and a beautiful example of the late 18th century exists in the National Museum, New Delhi. "The peacock or *mōrlī* elaboration of the protruding joist ends, pendants, brackets and capital has been the delight of Gujarat wood-carvers"²⁸ (Pl. II, fig. 23). Even the caskets, fans, bookshelves and rose-wood articles from Kerala and sandal wood carvings from Mysore, swings from Rajasthan depict peacock in different forms with all its grace, colour and charm.

Jewellery :

The age-old craftsmanship of the Indian jeweller finds a vivid expression in the rich variety of ornaments which adorn the images of divinities. The exuberant splendour of this art is further evident from the wall-paintings in the caves at Ajanta and elsewhere. The classical Sanskrit literature is replete with references to the jeweller's art. Living examples of his dexterity have been discovered from the ancient sites of Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Taxila, etc. In the rich variety of ornaments and their designs, whether inset with precious stones or enamelled with charming colours (Pl. II, fig. 20), the peacock motif does occur prominently, particularly in the armlets, ear-rings, necklaces, turban crests, etc., produced at various centres of India like Jaipur, Varanasi, Mysore, etc.

Metalware :

From the very early times, copper and bronze have been widely used in India to fashion objects of utility, such as weapons of war and hunting, agricultural implements, household utensils, etc. Later on, the use of iron and brass became more prevalent. The technical skill and craftsmanship of the Indian artisans through the centuries are evident from the casting of beautiful images in metal or carving its surface with intricate designs or enamelling the metallic objects with rich and lasting colours or shaping objects of daily use in a rich variety combined with aesthetic quality. Examples of artistic metalware, which are preserved, date back to only the last few centuries. A study of these objects reveals that the peacock in its different forms was often used as a decorative motif whether these were betel-nut-cutters (Pl. VII), goblets, flower-vases, *huqqā* bowls (Pl. VIII), flesh rubbers, toilet boxes (Pls. IX, X), or other household articles, of which a few illustrations are given from the National Museum collections. Even in *pūjā* accessories of a temple like the *pañchārati* (Pl. XI), with a peacock-shaped handle, hanging lamp shaped like a peacock²⁹ (Pl. II, fig. 21-22) or a *dīpavrkṣa* (tree of lamps) surmounted by a peacock or *hamsa* are commonly met with. The peacock has also been used to decorate the famous bidriware (so-called from Bidar, near Hyderabad), objects of daily use, like spittoon, flower-vases, toilet boxes and *pānadānas*, etc.

Textiles :

The art fabrics of India with all their richness of variety and colour, whether woven, embroidered or printed, provide a vast field for the study of decorative designs and motifs. Among the diapers, flowers, spirals, scrolls, birds, animals and geometrical designs which adorn the Indian textiles, the peacock symbolising beauty in all its aspects, remains a great favourite with the textile manufacturers.

The embroiderer's art from Bengal finds its folk expression in the *kanthās* or quilts prepared from discarded old cotton *dhātīs*, which are firstly joined together by darn stitches and then embroidered with symbolic designs in which peacock occurs prominently (Pl. XVII, Pl. II, fig. 15).

Similarly, in the richly embroidered *rūmālas* from the Chamba Hills, which are embroidered with brilliantly coloured flowers, animals, birds and mythological scenes, the peacock motif is commonly used.³⁰

Kutch and Kathiawad have been the most prolific centres of chain-stitch embroidery of which the designs consist of a profusion of foliage, flowers and birds worked out in harmonising colours. Invariably, the peacock in its various poses, single and in pairs, is commonly used in these embroideries³¹ (Pl. XII, Pl. II, fig. 16).

In the intricate *chikan* embroideries of Lucknow, beautiful representations of the peacocks in minute stitches are worked out with skill which invite our admiration (Pl. XIII, Pl. II, fig. 14).

Among the several centres of block-printed textiles of India, Rajasthan and Gujarat were reputed for their beauty of pattern and colour. From the port of Broach in Gujarat, Indian textiles were exported to Middle East countries which is evident from an important find from Fostat in Egypt datable to the 12th-16th centuries A.D.³² One of these fragments is decorated with a row of peacocks (Pl. I, fig. 11).

The colourful prints from *Sāngānēr* use the peacock motif for decorating the field or the borders (Pl. I, fig. 12). In the prints from *Masūlipaṭṭam* also, among other designs, the peacock occupies an important place (Pl. XIV).

Bandhanā sārīs and *oḍhaṇīs* from Rajasthan and Gujarat, involving the intricate process of resist dyeing by which patterns of small dots, circles and zig-zag stripes are produced, include the depiction of the peacock motif (Pl. I, fig. 13).

In the silk *paṭolā sārīs* of Gujarat, used on wedding occasions, which are produced by weaving the tie-dyed threads, the weaver brings out charming, geometrical and floral designs and those of animals and birds including the peacock.³³

The figured and flowered *sārīs* from *Balūchar*, district Murshidabad, woven on the loom by a special kind of manipulation, have among other rich patterns the peacock in pairs usually figured in the field (Pl. XV, Pl. II, fig. 19).

India has been deservedly famous for its luxuriant silk brocades of which chief centres are at Benaras, Chanderi, Ahmedabad, Surat, Aurangabad and Tanjore. In these gorgeous art fabrics rich in variety, colour and design, the



Plate I



Plate II

Illustrations of "Peacock in Indian Art"

Plate No. I

- Fig. No. 1. Drawing of a motif on a burial jar from Harappa. Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.
- Fig. No. 2. Drawing of a motif prepared from a punch-marked coin. Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.
- Fig. No. 3. Motif from the East gateway of the Great Stupa, Sanchi, based on a photograph reproduced in Osamn Takata and Tervo Veno : *The Art of Indian, Vol. II, Pl. No. 295.*
- Fig. No. 4. Motif on the Begram ivory, Based on Plate No. 75, *Exhibition of Ancient Art of Afghanistan*, Tokyo, 1963.
- Fig. No. 5. Drawing of a motif on an armlet, in a Kushan Sculpture. Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.
- Fig. No. 6. Drawing of a motif on a pillar, based on C. Sivaramamurti, Sanskrit Literature and Art-mirrors of Indian Art. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 73; pl. XVII.
- Fig. No. 7. Drawing of motifs from gold coin. Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.
- and 8.
- Fig. No. 9. Drawing of a motif on a Terracotta plaque. K. N. Dikshit, Excavations at Paharpur, Bengali. *Memoirs Archeological Survey of India*, 1938, No. 55. pl. 41.
- Fig. No. 10. *Mayūrapuruṣu* drawn from Agrawal, R. C. Skanda from National Museum, New Delhi and U. P. Hills *East and West*, New Series, Rome, September-December 1955, Vol. 18, Nos. 3-4, p. 319.
- Fig. No. 11. Motif on textile print prepared from *Les Toiles Imprimess, De Fostat El-L' Hindoustan Paris*, 1938, pl. no. XXVII (b).
- Fig. No. 12. Drawing of a motif on a printed textile, Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.
- Fig. No. 13. Drawing of a motif on a tie-dyed textile, Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.

Plate No. II.

- Fig. No. 14. Motif drawn from *Chikan*-embroidery. Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.
- Fig. No. 15. Motif drawn from a *Kantha*. Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.

- Fig. No. 16. Motif drawn from Pl. 12. Nanavati and other : *Embroidery and Bead work of Kutch and Saurashtra*, Baroda, 1966.
- Fig. No. 17. Motif drawn from a spread in bead work. Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.
- Fig. No. 18. Motif drawn from a Chanderi border. Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.
- Fig. No. 19. Motif drawn from a *Baluchar* Sari. Collection : National Museum, New Delhi.
- Fig. No. 20. Motif drawn an enmalled pendent; P. N. Mago, Jewellery. *Marg*, Vol. XVIII. No. I. *plate No. 8*.
- Fig. No. 21 Motif on lamps. Collection : National Museum, National and 22. Museum, New Delhi.
- Fig. No. 23. Motif drawn from an ivory piece. Collection: National Museum, New Delhi.
- Fig. No. 24. Motif of wood carving drawn from *Wood carving of Gujarat*, Part VII-A (2) Volume 5 *Census of India 1961*, *pl. no. LXXIV*.
- Fig. No. 25. Alpana-mofit, prepared from *Alpana* published by the Director, Publication Division, Delhi-8, *Plate. No. 14*.

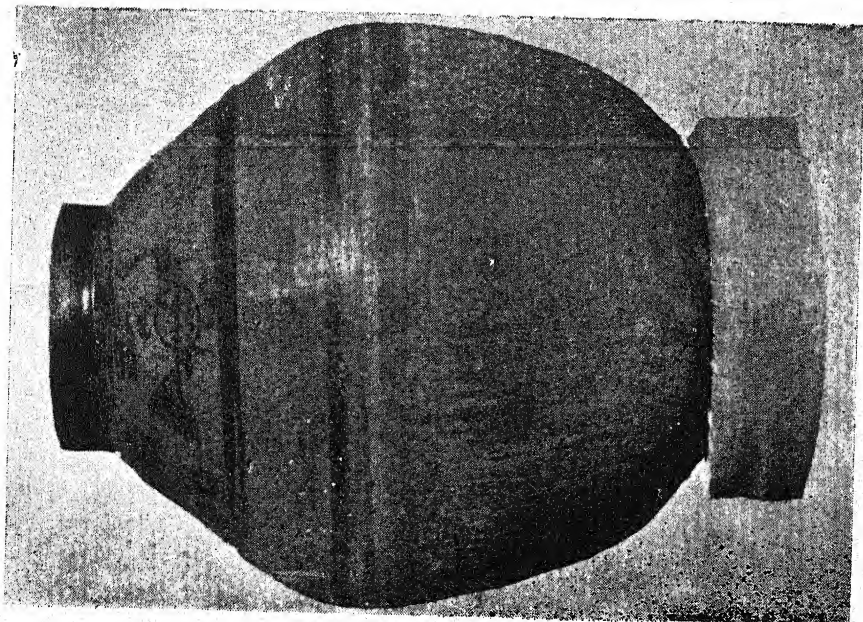


Plate III

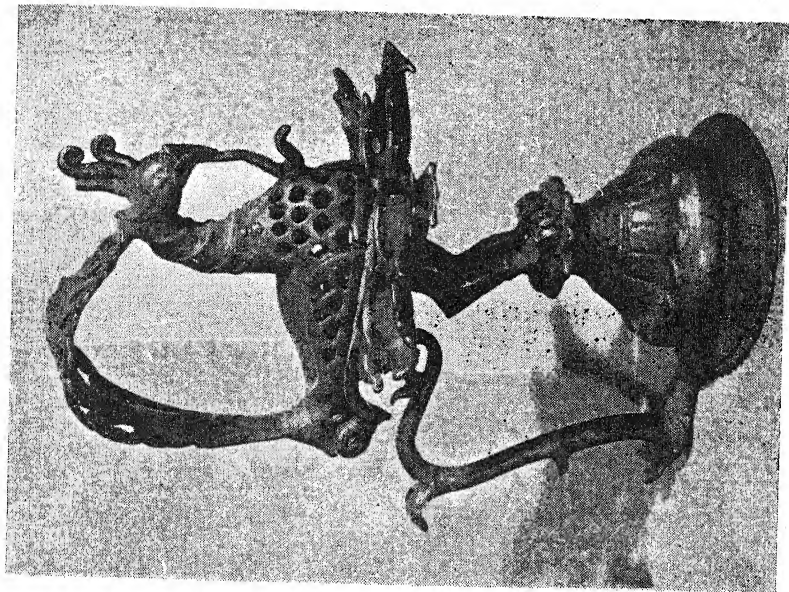


Plate XI



Plate IV

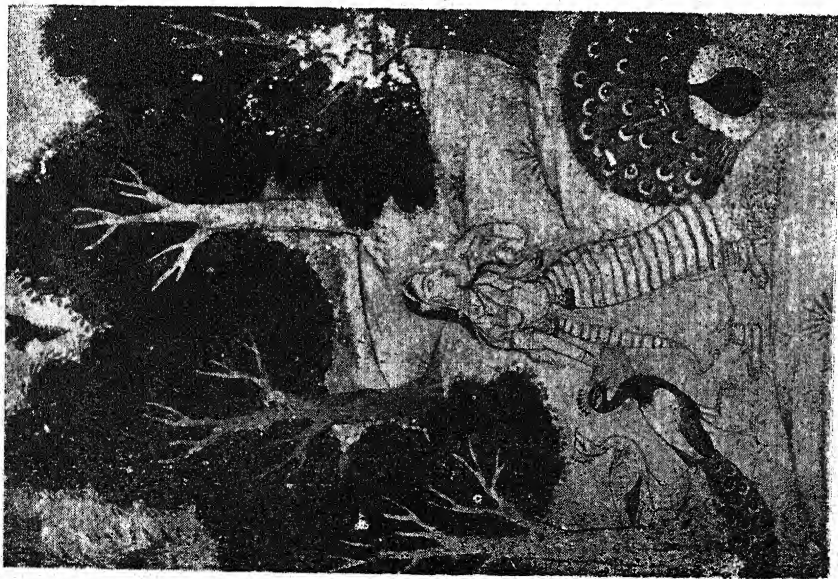


Plate V

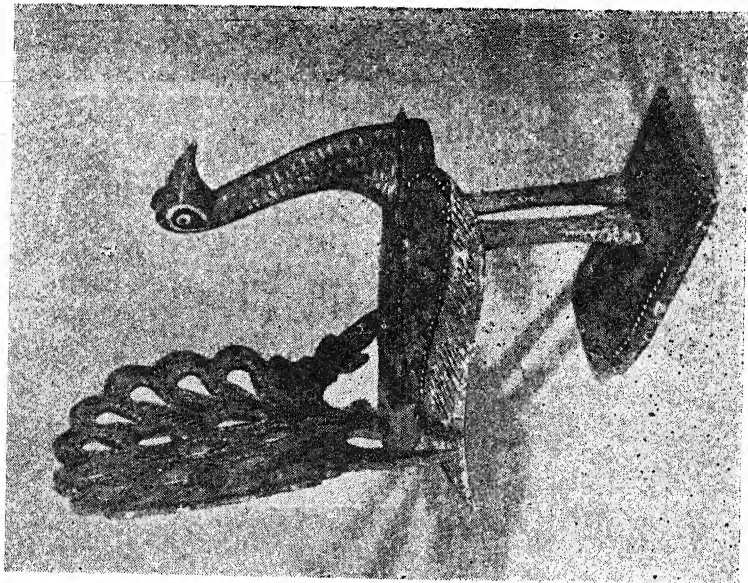


Plate VI

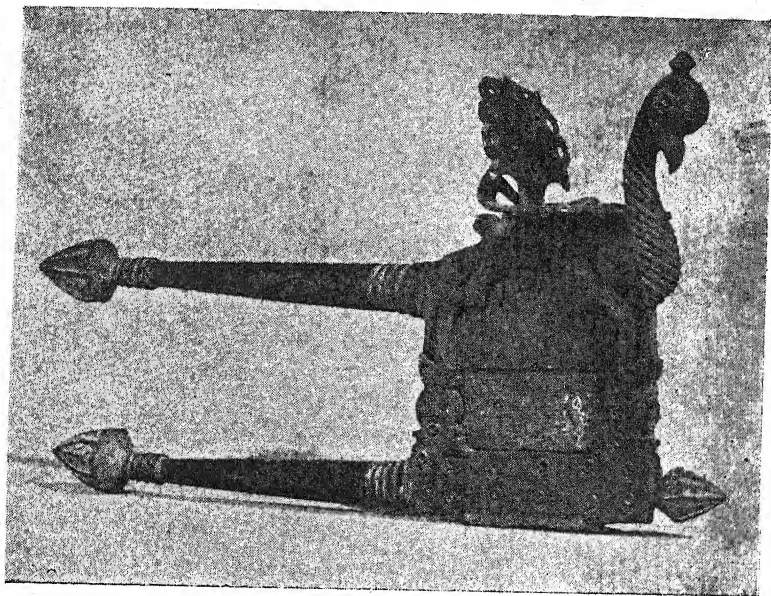


Plate VII



Plate VIII

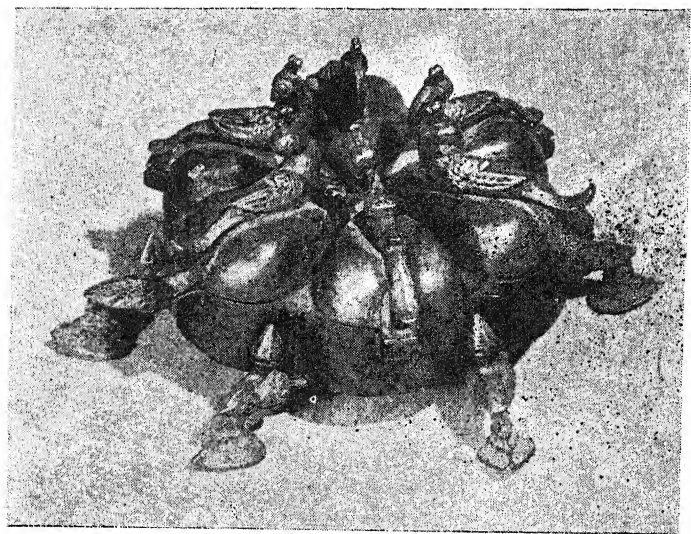


Plate IX

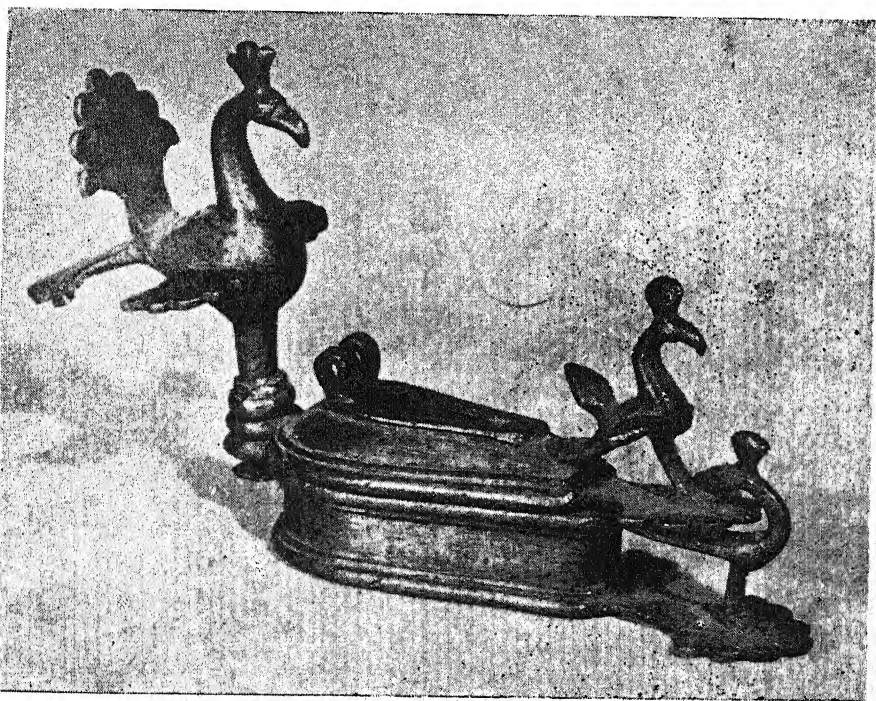


Plate X



Plate XII

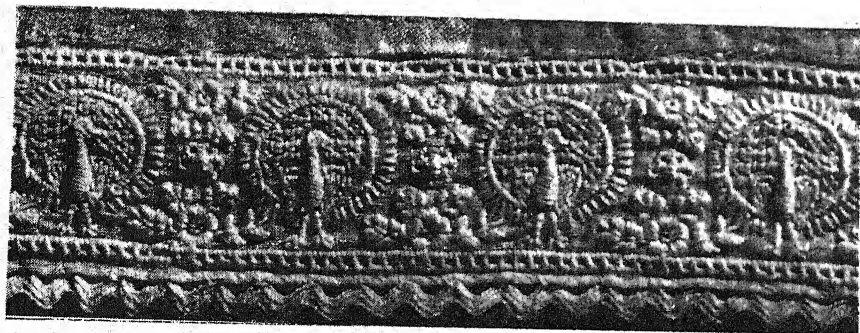


Plate XIII

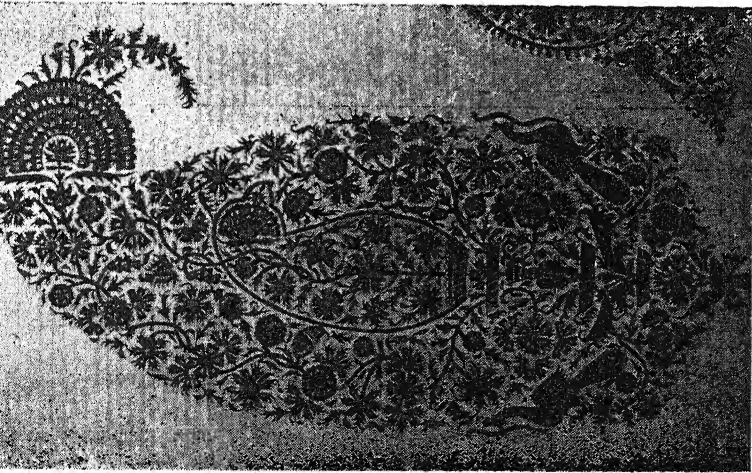


Plate XIV

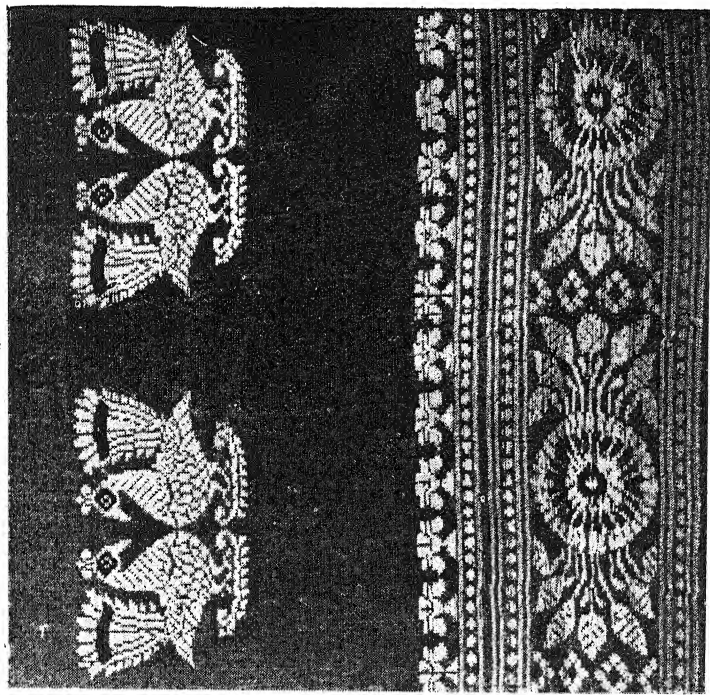


Plate XV

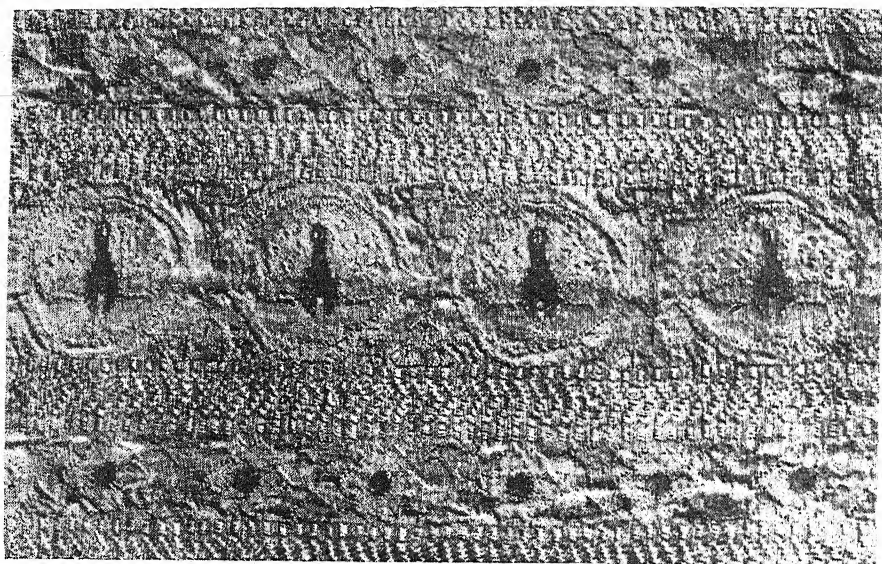


Plate XVI



Plate XVII

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peacock in different poses, spread over the field, enclosed within squares, pairs in roundels, etc., is often used as a decorative motif (Pl. XVI, Pl. II, fig. 18).

Even in the beautiful craft of bead-work, particularly from Western India, where it attained a pitch of perfection, the peacock in different forms is frequently used to enhance the charm of other designs³⁴ (Pl. II, fig. 17).

This sacred bird associated with the Sun, Karttikeya and *Kaumārī* is also used for personal adornment of body by tattooing or by applying colourful paste of henna or *altā* on the delicate palms of Indian women.

Even in the traditional folk art of *Rangōli* or *alpanā* or *kōlam* or *muggū*, in which coloured powders are used to draw pleasing patterns to decorate the housefloor, the peacock design is used very often³⁵ (Pl. II, fig. 25).

Not only due to the religious sanctity which is attached to this National bird of India, but also due to its majestic appearance, its graceful colours, its elegant features, its melodious voice, and its pleasing dance, the peacock is even today loved and admired by the people of India and will continue to enjoy this privileged status for all times to come.

Acknowledgements

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A FRESH INTERPRETATION OF THE ṚGVEDIC ŚIPRĀ

By

S. N. SHUKLA, Simla

1. Object of the paper :

Like lexicographers the interpreters of the *Ṛgveda* are also noticed to be giving various meanings of one and the same word in the same or different contexts. This is certainly a puzzling problem before the students of the *Ṛgveda* who would like to know why so many meanings are accorded to a single word, and whether these meanings are interrelated and valid or open to objection. This paper attempts to investigate into various meanings of the word *Śiprā*, and to examine the validity of all meanings offered by various traditional as well as historical interpreters of the *Ṛgveda*.

2. Occurrences :

The word *śiprā* occurs 52 times in the *Ṛgveda* (RV) in different forms and genders. Indra has been invoked as *śiprin-* 12 times;¹ once as *śipravanta-*;² once as *śiprinivanta-*;³ 17 times as *suśipra-*;⁴ twice as *hariśiprar-*⁵ and once as *hiriśipra-*.⁶ The forms *śipre-*⁷ and *śiprābhyām*⁸ also occur with him. Agni has been described as *suśipra-*⁹ and *hiriśipra-*.¹⁰ The epithet *suśipra-* occurs with Rudra¹¹ and Ṛbhukṣaṇa¹² also. The Maruts have been invoked as *hiranyaśiprāḥ*.¹³ and the Ṛbhus are mentioned as *ayaḥ-śipra*.¹⁴ The Matis (perhaps cows) are called *śipriniḥ*,¹⁵ *viśiśipra*.¹⁶ *Vṛṣaśipra*.¹⁷ and *daśaśipra*.¹⁸ also occur in the RV as epithets of certain personalities.

1 Rv. 1.30.11; 81.4; 3.36.10; 5.54.11; 6.44.14; 7.25.3; 8.1.27; 17.4; 32.24; 33.7; 61.4; 92.4.

2 Rv. 6.17.2.

3 Rv. 10.105.5.

4 Rv. 1.9.3; 101.10; 2.12.6; 3.30.3; 32.3; 50.2; 6.36.5; 6.46.5; 7.24.4; 8.21.8; 32.4; 66.2.4; 69.16; 93.12; 99.2; 10.96.3.

5 Rv. 10.96.4, 12.

6 Rv. 6.29.6.

7 Rv. 1.101.10; 3.32.1; 5.36.2; 8.76.10; 96.9.

8 Rv. 10.105.5.

9 Rv. 5.22.4.

10 Rv. 2.2.5.

11 Rv. 2.33.5.

12 Rv. 7.37.1.

13 Rv. 2.34.3.

14 Rv. 4.37.4.

15 Rv. 1.30.11.

16 Rv. 5.45.6.

17 Rv. 7.99.4.

18 Rv. 8.52.2.

3. Traditional Interpretations :

From the very outset of the Rġvedic interpretation the meaning of *śipra* has always been controversial. The first interpretation handed down to us comes from Yāska's *Nirukta* (Nir.),¹⁹ where two meanings, namely, *hanu* ' chin ' and *nāsikā* ' nose ', are attested which have been followed subsequently by traditional exegetists. Skandasvāmin (SKN)²⁰ added one more meaning to it, i.e. *śirastrāṇa* or *uṣṇīṣa* ' helmet ' which was followed by subsequent commentators like Mādhava,²¹ Veṅkaṭa Mādhava²² and Sāyaṇa.²³

4. Historical Interpretation :

Besides these three meanings Western scholars have suggested some more meanings and tried to make clear the sense. *Böhtlingk* and *Roth* (BR) have enumerated its meanings as ' Cheek ' (*du. Backe*), parts of cheeks (2 pl-*Backestücke*), helmet (*am helm*), bridle or rein of the horse (*am zügel der Rosse*) and ' nose ' (3 sg. *Nase*)²⁴. *Grassmann* attests its meanings as ' the moving part of the upper and lower mouth, in wider sense it means drinking and sipping lips; and in plural it means the visor of the helmet ' *du. die beweglichen theil. welche den Mund von unten oben umgeben, Lippen in ausgedehnterem Sinne, die trinkenden. schlürfenden Lippen; 2 plur., das Visier am Helme vgl. avaṣ śiprá* '²⁵ *LUDWIG* gives its meanings as ' jaw ' ' *kiefer* ', and has accepted the preceding one i.e. visor or a part of the helmet ' *Visier Helmstücke* '.²⁶ *HILLEBRANDT* has followed the meaning as ' jaw ' *kiefer*,²⁷ *BERGAIGNE* has suggested its meaning as ' cheeks ' ' *joues* ' or ' jaw ' ' *Mauchoiros* ', but he seems to be doubtful about the second meaning, i.e. jaw.²⁸ According to *GELDNER*, *śiprá* signifies, at all events, the part of the face or mouth, and the meaning ' helmet ' ' *Helm* ' or ' Visor ' ' *Visier* ' is quite clear and granted for acceptance.²⁹ Besides these meanings he has enumerated other meanings also, as, ' lips ', in wider sense ' *n. du. Lippe im Weiterem Sinn* ',³⁰ ' moustache ' or ' beard ' ' *Schnurrbart, Bart* ',³¹ and ' hair ' ' *Haar* '.³² *CHARPENTIER*

19 Nir. 6.17.

20 Rġveda Bhāṣya 6.46.5.

21 Rġveda-Vyākhyā on first Aṣṭaka.

22 Rġgartha-dīpikā.

23 Rġveda-Bhāṣya.

24 Sanskrit Wörterbuch.

25 Wörterbuch Zum Rġveda, p. 1394.

26 Kommentar Zur Rġveda.

27 Übers von 3.32.1.

28 La Religion Vedique 2, 257.

29 Der Rġveda I (Zu. 1.101.10), p. 131f.

30 Glosser.

31 Vedische Studien Pt. 3rd, p. 39.

32 Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende sprachforschung begründet Von A. kühn, Goettingen, 46, 26 ff.

has given its meanings as 'hair,' 'Haar' and 'head-bandage' 'ko of binde.'³³ HJALMAN FRISK, after a long argumentation, has suggested its meaning as 'something wagging like tail' 'schweif,' connecting it with some other words meaning 'Wagging like tail.' He takes it to mean 'moustache' 'Schnurrbart' also.³⁴ MAX MULLER argues that *śipra*, in du. *šipre*, is intended for the 'jaws the upper and the lower'; and in the plu. (*śiprāḥ*) for something worn on the head, made of gold-threads. He has rejected ROTH's view on *hriśipra*—as yellow-jawed, and *hiranya-śipra* as 'golden cheeks or golden helmet.' According to him a decision between 'golden-jawed' or 'golden helmeted' is difficult, yet 'golden jawed' is applicable in all cases.³⁵ But even MAX MULLER's argument seems to be futile on certain grounds which we will see later on. OLDENBERG has followed MAX MULLER's interpretation.³⁶

5. Difficulty in selecting the exact meaning:

Thus we see that about a dozen meanings have been assigned to this single word. Out of all these meanings it is difficult to select just one meaning which may suit all the contexts. Therefore, if we don't get only one meaning, we are required to accept more than one meaning which may lead us astray. In that case the question arises 'whether a single word can indicate so many parts of the body', and whether it can contain other meanings too. It would be better if we get one suitable meaning which may suit all the contexts.

6. Discussion on Interpretations :

At the outset, let us discuss the traditional meaning, i.e. *hanu* or *nāsikā* and *uṣṇīṣa*, given by Yāska and others. These meanings can be applicable in such contexts where *śiprā* is used as an adjective to some deity, as *suśipra*, *hariśiprā* etc., but in those contexts where it denotes some action, these meanings fail to give the real sense. For example, let us take such contexts as '*vanoti śiprābhyām śiprinīvān*'³⁷ 'Indra, possessed of *śiprā*, kills³⁸ or gives to someone with his two *śipras*'. Now, here if we take *śiprā* as 'chin' or 'cheek' or 'nose' or 'helmet' the idea is not clear, because no one can kill anybody or give anybody something through the help of all these things. For this same reason the other meanings as lips, moustach, jaw, hair, beard etc. are also not justifiable. The second example is *śiprāḥ śirśasu vitatāḥ hiranyayitḥ*.³⁹ 'the golden *śiprās* are

33 Loc. cit.

34 Le Monde Oriental 30, p. 87-89.

35 SBE. Vol. XXXII, pp. 301-302.

36 Ibid., Vol. XLVI.

37 Rv. 10.105.5.

38 The root *van*-here may be taken to mean 'Kill', as Sāyana has interpreted it-*vanoti, vanusyatirhanṭikarmā, śatrūn hinasti*’.

39 Rv. 5.54.11.

towering on the heads (of the Maruts).’ In this example the meaning given by the commentators as ‘helmet’ or sometimes ‘hair’ also may be applicable only on one ground that it is connected with the heads. But in the RV. we do not find any mention of head-dress like *uṣṇīṣa*. Even, in the Indus-valley civilization, we do not find any indication of such a ‘head-dress’, except that of ‘horns’ or ‘horn-made dress’, and even this ‘horn-made dress’ indicates only the bull’s image of the Indus-God.⁴⁰ Therefore, the meaning *uṣṇīṣa* ‘helmet’ seems to be untenable. But this bull’s image of the gods may be traced in the RV. also. Agni has been described as shaking his horns,⁴¹ which represents his image as a bull—

भूष॑न् योऽधि॑ बभू॒षु नम्र॑ते वृष॑व पत्नी॑रम्येति रोह॑वत् ।

ओजा॑यमानस्तन्दि॒व्य शु॒म्भते॑ सी॒मो न शृ॒ङ्गा दि॒धाव॑ दुर्ग॒भिः ॥

‘He stoops down among the bushes as if embellishing them (with lustre), and rushes roaring like a bull, amongst (a herd of) cows; then increasing in intensity he enhances (the fierceness) of his form, and is difficult to be arrested as a formidable (animal), when he brandishes his horns.’⁴²

MACDONELL has given no remark on this horn-image of Agni in his Vedic Mythology.

Soma also has been mentioned as sharpening his horns like a bull⁴³—

एष॑ शृ॒ङ्गाणि॑ दो॒ष्टुव॑दि॒शीते॑ यू॒यो इ॒ वृषा॑ । नृ॒णा दधान॑ ओज॑सा ॥

‘This group leading bull, frequently moving the horns, sharpens (them) energetically performing heroic deeds.’⁴⁴

Moreover, as OLDENBERG has pointed out,⁴⁵ the activity of sharpening (or violently moving) the horns occurs in many other contexts also,⁴⁶ which proves that it refers to either Soma or Agni or other gods in the image of a bull.⁴⁷ This bull’s image can be compared with those contexts where *sipra* indicates the same idea. In the two examples above we have seen the violently moving horns, thanks to the verbal form ‘*davidhāva*’ (Perfect, 3rd sing. of the intensive √ *dhū*—

40 DR. R. N. DANDEKAR, *Some Aspects of the History of Hinduism*, Poona, 1967, p. 5.

41 Rv. 1.140.6.

42 Here I have followed H. H. WILSON’s translation.

43 Rv. 9. 15.4.

44 Here I have followed the fresh interpretation of PROF. S. S. BHAVE, *Soma Hymns*, pt. I, p. 99.

45 *Religion des Veda* 1, 604.

46 Rv. 5.2.9; 9.5.2; 87.7.

47 DR. S. S. BHAVE, *Soma Hymns*, Pt. III, p. 173.

'shake', move violently)⁴⁸ and '*davidhvāt*' (imperfect, 3rd. sg. of intensive $\sqrt{dhū}$ - 'shake'). The same root has been used with *śiprā*- also. Indra has been described as moving his two *śiprā*-'.⁴⁹

सु॒वे॒व॒ य॒स्य॒ ह॒रि॒णी॒ वि॒पे॒त॒तुः॒ शि॒प्रे॒ वा॒ज॒य॒ ह॒रि॒णी॒ द॒वि॒श्व॒तः॒ ।

'He, whose tawny brown *śipras* alight like two ladles, whose tawny brown *śipras* tremble for the sacrificial food or vigour.'

Here the nom. dual of *śipra*- seems to be the neuter form, which may be equated with '*śṛṅge*.'⁵⁰

In the above verse the similarity between *sruva*- and *śiprā* is also to be noted. The shape of *sruva* is like horns. Its straightness, knots etc. can be identified with those of horns.

These similarities lead us to establish the meaning of *śiprā* as 'horn.' In the above rc, i.e. *sruveva yasya hariṇī vipetatuḥ*—etc. the qualifying word for *śipra*- is *hariṇī*- which occurs elsewhere as an adjective of *śṛṅge* also⁵¹:—

रु॒व॒ति॒ भी॒मो॒ वृ॒ष॒भ॒स्त॒वि॒ध्य॒या॒

शृ॒ङ्गे॒ शि॒शानो॒ ह॒रि॒णी॒ वि॒च॒क्षणः॒ ।

'The terror striking bull roars with a desire to exhibit (his) power, sharpening his tawny brown horns, the well-seeing one.'⁵²

Here the words *śṛṅge* and *śipre*—both are in nom. du. (neuter). Thus the expression *śipre vāḍāya hariṇī davidhvataḥ* and '*śṛṅge śiśāno hariṇī vicakṣaṇaḥ*—may be compared together to get the same notion. Hence the form *śipre* may be equated with *śṛṅge*.

The occurrence of the compound *vr̥ṣa-śipra*-in the RV. also confirms the bulls image, which may be compared with *śṛṅga-vr̥ṣa*- in other context.⁵³ Thus it seems that this 'horn-image' plays a prominent role in the R̥gvedic mythology.⁵⁴ We see in normal life that when a bull runs towards anything to

48 A. A. MACDONELL, Vedic Grammar, p. 393.

49 Rv. 10.96.9.

50 Rv. 5.2.9; 8.60.13; 9.5.2; 70.7; 87.7.

51 Rv. 9.70.7.

52 DR. S. S. BHAVE's translation followed.

53 Rv. 8.17.13.

54 'In ancient religious cults the god was often represented by his *vāhana* or certain distinctive features of the *vāhana*- such as bull's horn. According to MARSHALL 'horns' were a pre-Āryan emblem of divinity, while some other scholars suggest that 'horns' merely gave the figure a distinctive look and raised it above normal human beings.'

—DR. R. N. DANDEKAR—Some Aspects of History of Hinduism, p. 5.

eat it generally shakes his head violently, with which horns also seem to be moving. The same idea seems to be contained in all those *ṛks* where *śrṅga* or *śipra* is mentioned as 'moving.'

So far as its etymology and identification is concerned, we may derive it from *śi* 'sharpen' or from *śip-* 'move.' The first derivation is linguistically unsound. The second may be traced back to Indo-Germanic root 'keip-' 'go back' 'move'. Latin *cornu* 'Horn', Greek *kepas* 'horn' or 'nail' may be identified with Vedic *śipra*. Thus etymologically it may be connected with words meaning 'Wagging or moving.'

The Avestan word *srvō* ('*yo janat snāvidkdm yim srvō-zanr̥dm*'-yašt xix.43) may also be identified with *śipra*. '*Srvō-Zanr̥dm* would mean 'belonging to the horned race.'⁵⁵ Hence on this etymological ground also, we may confirm the meaning of *śipra* as 'horn'.

If we compare the Rgvedic contexts with some of the Indus-Valley-findings, we can see some very interesting similarities regarding the 'horn-dressed bull'. Some of the seals found in Indus-Valley stand as the testimony for this conclusion. The figure of the god on the seal is shown to be having a pair of horns. To quote Macay "seal no 222 depicts a figure seated what may be called a *yogī* attitude with the heels pressed together on a low dais whose legs represent those of a bull. The head-dress is a twig with leaves like those of a *pipal*. The horns, if, indeed, they are horns, are definitely separate from the head; they are, moreover, represented as fastened to the base of the twig. The head-dress consists of two horn-like objects."⁵⁶

Thus, all these evidences confirm that the meaning of *śipra* is nothing else but 'horn,' which symbolically can be taken for 'flames' or 'rays' or 'head-dress made of horns' also.

⁵⁵ 'It is to be noticed that almost all the sculptured monsters on the walls of the palace at Persepolis (See Stolze, Persepolis, 1, 4) have a horn on the foreheads, so that the epithet '*srvō-zana*, when applied to them is literally true. Apparently *Snāvidka* was conceived as such a horned Ahriman monster'.

—ARTHUR F. J. REMY, A. M. Columbia University, New York, N.Y.J.A.O. S. Vol. XX, I half, p. 70.

⁵⁶ E. MACAY, Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro, Vol. I, p. 335; Vol. II, plate LXXXVII, nos. 222, 235. See also JOHN MARSHALL, Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, p. 54. In many early mythologies the head-dress of 'horns' is a sign of divinity. J. G. FRAZER, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, (London, 1907), pp. 20-30.

ON THE MEANING OF THE TITLE “BṚHADĀRANYAKA UPANIṢAD”

By

VISHNU PRASAD BHATT, Poona

On the Meaning of the Word ‘Bṛhat’

The word ‘Bṛhat’ is extremely significant. Śāṅkarācārya, the celebrated philosopher and commentator on the *Upaniṣads* while commenting on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (*Br. Up.*), gives an unambiguous and emphatic explanation to the point in the following words: *Seyam* (*Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat*) *ṣaḍadhyāyī bṛhatvāt parimāṇato bṛhat*, i.e., “This *Br. Up.* consisting of six chapters is called “Great” from the point of view of its length.”¹ Sureśvara, the great disciple of Śāṅkara, and also well-known as Maṇḍanamiśra, points out in his *Saṁbandhavārttika* (9), an ancillary work to the *Br. Up.*, that the *Br. Up.* is “Great” not only because of its size but also for the sublimity and the magnitude of its thought: *bṛhatvāt granthataḥ arthāt ca bṛhadāraṇyakam matam*. Many modern Indologists have in this connection taken a lead of Sureśvara. KUPPUSWAMI² also categorically remarks: “The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* is the greatest not only in extent; but it is also the greatest in respect of its substance and theme.” He further avers: “It is the greatest *Upaniṣad* in the sense that the illimitable, all embracing, absolute, self-luminous, blissful reality—the *Bṛhat* or *Brahman*, identical with *Ātman*, constitutes its theme.”³ N. K. BRAHMA corroborates the same.⁴

It is important to take note of this fact that the commentators of the Great *Br. Up.* viz., Raṅgarāmānuja, Madhva or Ānandatīrtha, Rāghavendra,⁵ Vidyāraṇya,⁶ Nityānanda,⁷ Dvivedagaṅga,⁸ Vāsudeva Brahma Bhagavat⁹ in regard to

1 Śāṅkarabhāṣya on *Br. Up.*, Introduction.

2 SASTRI, S. Kuppuswami's Introduction to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; Tr. by SWAMI MADHAWANANDA; Advaita Āśrama; Almora; Second Edition; 1941; p. vii.

3 *Loc. cit.*

4 BRAHMA, N. K.; “Studies in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad” *Prabuddha Bharata*; Vol. LVI; No. 1; Jan. 1951; p. 19.

5 Rāghavendra's commentary is on the *Kāṇva* (Kā) recension (rec.) of the *Br. Up.*. It is unpublished. The Manuscript (MS) is available at Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI) Poona. MS. No. 705 of 1887-91; New No. 30.

6 Vidyāraṇya's Com. is on the *Kā* rec. of the *Br. Up.*. It is unpublished. MS. is available at BORI., Poona. MS. No. 687 of 1887-91; New No. 30.

7 Nityānanda's Com. is on the *Kā* rec. of the *Br. Up.*. It is entitled as *Mitākṣarā*. Published by Ānandāśrama, Poona, 1895. (See Foot-note Numbers 8 and 9 on page No. 21).

the meaning of this word "Brhat" do not contribute anything remarkable. They either repeat Śaṅkara's opinion or keep silence.

What the above mentioned Ācāryas have endeavoured in bringing out the meaning of the word 'Brhat' is undoubtedly justifiable, but here it should not be forgotten that these fail in revealing the comprehensive meaning of this highly significant word. *Br. Up.* is great not only on account of its great length and on account of deep meaning of its philosophy of *Advaita*, but because one who dives into and reaches to the depth of this *Upaniṣad* unfailingly finds that there have been rooted a number of philosophies in it.¹⁰ Besides *Advaita*, one certainly comes across the seeds of *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Bauddha* systems of Indian philosophy in this *Upaniṣad*.¹¹

This *Upaniṣad* in addition to philosophy, deals abundantly with rituals in its *Madhukāṇḍa* as well as in the *Khilakāṇḍa*. It also offers a beautiful account of the Great ladies viz., Gārgī Vācakaṇvī (3.6; 3.8) Sulabhā Maitreyī (2.4; 4.5), Kātyāyanī (2.4; 4.5) each of whom represents the society of the women of those remote days of India. It also provides considerable material on historical matters. This *Upaniṣad*, therefore, is a 'Locus Classicus' of the Indian philosophy. It represents the core of India's spiritual lore. It speaks of the elevated ancient Indian Culture. It, therefore, very deservedly occupies the topmost place amongst scriptural texts of India.¹² It is the finest product of Vedic philosophy.¹³ All these unique and great significances must have led the compiler of this *Upaniṣad* to entitle it with the special prefix in the form of the word 'Brhat'.

On the Meaning of the Word Āraṇyaka (in the title Brhadāraṇyaka)

The meaning of the word *Āraṇyaka* is crystal clear. There is no contradiction among the orientalists in regard to it. It has been unanimously admitted

8 Dvivedagaṅga's Com. on the *Mādhayandina* recension (Mā. rec.) of the *Br. up.*, is edited by Weber at the end of his *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. He deserves an appreciation for the creditable work.

9 V. B. Bhagavat's Com. on the Mā. rec. of the *Br. Up.* Published by Lakṣmi-veṅkateśvara Press, Kalyāṇa—Bombay; 1940.

10 (i) Cf. RANADE, R. D.; *A Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*; Poona; 1926; Ch. IV.

(ii) SEN GUPTA, Anima; *Chāndogya Upaniṣad: Sāṅkhya point of view*; Kanpur; Dec., 1962, see particularly Introduction.

11 I have also endeavoured and traced out almost all the famous systems of Indian Philosophy rooted in the *Br. up.* itself. This attempt will soon appear in the form of a Research Paper.

12 BRAHMA, N. K.; *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

13 MACDONELL, A. A.; *A History of Sanskrit Literature*; Delhi; 1961; p. 219.

that this word is derived from the word *Aranya*, i.e., forest. The text which is studied in *Aranya* is called *Āraṇyaka*. The *Br. Up.* was primarily studied and taught in *Aranya*. This fact led the compiler of this text to entitle it as *Āraṇyaka*. Śaṅkara very aptly remarks : *aranye anūcyamānatvāt āraṇyakam*.¹⁴

On the Meaning of the Word Upaniṣad

A great controversy has invariably been prevailing among the Indological research scholars regarding the true meaning of the word *Upaniṣad*. There is to be found no unanimous opinion among the modern Indologists of India as well as of the West. It is, however, noteworthy that the traditional commentators seem to be of one opinion in this connection. It should be borne in mind that none of the modern orientalists, either Eastern or Western, agrees with the traditional *Ācāryas*. The truth of the disagreement lies in the fact that the native *Ācāryas* have understood the meaning of the word *Upaniṣad* on the background of its purport. On the contrary, the modern Indologists seem inclined to understand it on the etymological basis.

The word *Upaniṣad* is etymologically derived from *upa* + *ni* + *sad* + *kṛip*. *Upa* and *ni* are the prefixes to the root *sad*. *Kṛip* is the suffix. *Upa* means 'nearness'. The root *sad* has three meanings¹⁵ (i) to attain, (ii) to loosen and (iii) to destroy *śadlṛviśaraṇagatyavasādanaṣu*.¹⁶ But the etymological meaning of this root is 'to sit.' Thus the word *Upaniṣad* originally means sitting (*sad*) down near (*upa ni*) to receive subtle or mysterious knowledge from a teacher.

The traditional interpreters seldom seem to have thought of deriving the word *Upaniṣad* from *sad*, to 'sit down'. They derive it either from the root *sad*, in the sense of destruction, supposing that these ancient treatises must have received their name because they were intended to destroy passion and ignorance by means of divine revelation, or from the root *sad*, in the sense of approaching because the knowledge of *Brahman* comes near to us by means of the *Upaniṣads* or because we approach *Brahman* by their help.¹⁷ Śaṅkara in his introduction to the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* observes : "Knowledge of *Brahman* is called *Upaniṣad* because in the case of those who devote themselves to it, the bonds of conception, birth, decay etc., become loosened, or because it destroys them al-

14 *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*, *Op. cit.*, Intro.

15 B. K. CHATTAAADBYAYA in his *The Teachings of the Upanishads* (Published by University of Calcutta; 1952; p. 9) observes that the root *sad* has got two meanings i.e. to attain and to loosen or to destroy. But it may be considered to be unjustified. 'Loosen' and 'Destroy' are not synonymous.

16 *Dhātupāṭha* by Pāṇini; I. 854; and also VI. 1427.

17 MAX MULLER, F.; *The Sacred Books of the East*; Part I; Vol. I; Oxford; 1879; p. IXXX.

together or because it leads the pupil very near to *Brahman* or because therein, the highest God is seated.¹⁸

Thus, Śaṅkara's interpretation of the word *Upaniṣad* seems to have become a guide for the subsequent traditional *paṇḍitas*. Sureśvara points out: "The word *Upaniṣad* has but one meaning, namely, the knowledge of the Supreme Self (or *Brahmavidyā*), for, the literal interpretation of the word leads only to that. Bringing *Jīvātman* into union with *Brahman* who is without a second, it dispels (or shatters) nescience (*Avidyā*) and the consequences of its association. Hence it (i.e. the *Brahmavidyā*) is termed *Upaniṣad*, or 'destroying our nescience' which is the prime source of all misery, it makes us attain the indivisible supreme in its aspect of the Inner Self (*Pratyag*). Hence, also, the use of the term *Upaniṣad*. Or else, knowledge (*Vidyā*) puts an end to the source of all worldliness by cutting of its very root. Hence, too, the term *Upaniṣad*.¹⁹ Alike Śaṅkara and Sureśvara, Vāsudeva Brahma Bhagavat,²⁰ Nityānanda,²¹ Ānand-giri²² etc. propagate that the word *Upaniṣad* denotes only *Brahmavidyā* by its direct meaning (*Mukhyavṛtti*).

It has already been observed that modern Indologists differ from those traditional interpretations in regard to the word '*Upaniṣad*'. And, it has also been pointed out that there is not to be found any unanimous opinion among these scholars. OLDENBERG²³ takes it originally to mean 'a form of worship (*Verherrung*)'. BODAS,²⁴ on the contrary, interprets it as 'sitting down near the sacrificial fire.' HAUER²⁵ understands it to be 'mysterious wisdom obtained by *tapas* and meditation.' MAX MULLER,²⁶ the distinguished occidental Indological research scholar observes: "The history and the genius of the Sanskrit language leave little doubt that *Upaniṣad* meant originally 'session', particularly, a session consisting of pupils, assembled at a respectful distance round their teacher" DEUSSEN, the other outstanding scholar of the West

18 *Śaṅkarabhāṣya*, *Tai. up.* Intro.: *Upaniṣaditi vidyocyate. Tatsevināṁ garbhajanmajarādi vināśādvā, brahmaṇo-vopaniṣamayaivṛtīvāt, upaniṣaṇṇam vāsyāṁ param śreya iti*, see also:—*Śaṅkarabhāṣya*, on the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*. See here RANGANATHANAND; *The Message of the Upaniṣads*; Bombay 1968; p.13;

19 Sureśvara, *Saṁbandhavārttika*, *Vārttika* No. 3-7; Tr. by AIYAR, S. V., Benares; 1905.

20 Bhagavat; *op. cit.*, Intro:—*Upaniṣat-śabdena mukhyayā vṛttyā brahmavidyā eva vācyā*.

21 Nityānanda; *op. cit.*, Intro., *Upaniṣat-śabdena tu mukhyayā vṛttyā brahmavidyā eva vācyā*.

22 Ānandagiri; *Śāstraprakāśikāṭikā* on the Sureśvara's *Vārttika*; 3-7.

23 OLDENBERG, H.; *Die Lehre der Upanishaden*; Göttingen; 1923; pp. 31f.

24 BODAS, M. R.; *JBRAS*, 22, pp. 69 f. Quoted by WINTERNITZ, M.; *A History of Indian Literature*; Vol. I; Part I; Third Edition; University of Calcutta; 1962; Tr. by Mrs. KETKAR, S. p. 212 Fn.

25 HAUER, J. W.; *Anfänge der Yoga-praxis*; P. 27. Quoted by WINTERNITZ; *Loc. cit.*

26 MAX MULLER, F.; *op. cit.*; p. LXXXI.

seems to be inclined to give expression of his view in this connection as follows. The meaning of the word 'Upaniṣad' is "secret sign, secret name, secret import, secret word, secret formula, secret instruction."²⁷ It is further emphatically asserted by him that : "to all the meanings the note of secrecy is attached."²⁸ Scholars like RADHAKRISHNAN,²⁹ KUPPUSWAMI,³⁰ etc. seem to have arrived at the same conclusion where DEUSSEN has already reached. MACDONELL and KEITH by their deep studies are led to think and opine that the exact primary sense of the expression (of the word *Upaniṣad*) is doubtful."³¹ They, however, eventually corroborate the view of DEUSSEN.³² WINTERNITZ avers : "It (*Upaniṣad*) originally meant the sitting down of the pupil near the teacher for the purpose of a confidential communication, therefore a 'confidential' or 'secret session'. Out of this idea of the 'secret session', the meaning 'secret doctrine' that which is communicated at such a confidential session was developed."³³

Examination

Before an attempt is made to have a critical and comprehensive examination or evaluation of all these views put forth by the oriental scholars, it is necessary to take a note of this fact that the Upaniṣadic texts themselves generally understand the word 'Upaniṣad' to mean '*Rahasya*'. The *Nṛsimha Uttaratāpiniya Upaniṣad* (8) has used four times in succession *iti rahasyam*, instead of the earlier (*Nṛsimha Pūrvatāpiniya Upaniṣad* 2.4.; 3.1; 4.3) usual form *iti upaniṣad*. The word 'Upaniṣad' has been understood to mean '*Guhya*'. *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (2. 1: *Ya evaṃ veda tasya upaniṣat*); *Kena Upaniṣad* (4.7: *Upaniṣadam bho brūhi iti uktā vā upaniṣad brāhmīn vāva ta upaniṣadam abrūma iti*); *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (1.1.10: *Yadeva karoti śraddhayā upaniṣadā*; 1.13.4: *annādo bhavati ya etān sāmnam upaniṣadam veda*; 8.8.4: *tebhyaḥ ha etān upaniṣadam provāca*; 8.8.5: *asurānām hi eṣā upaniṣat*); *Br. Up.* (2.1.20: *tasya upaniṣat satyasya satyam* 4.2.1: *etābhiḥ upaniṣadbhiḥ samāhitātmāsi*; 5.5.3, 4: *tasya upaniṣad ahaṃ iti*) *Taittiriya Upaniṣad* (1.3.1: *samhitāyāḥ upaniṣadam vyākhyāsyāmah*) *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (5.6: *tad veda guhyaḥ upaniṣatsu gūḍhaṃ*) all these

27 DEUSSEN, P.; *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* Tr. by GEDEN, A. S.; Edinburgh; 1908; p. 15.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

29 RATHAKRISHNAN, S.; *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*; London; 1935; p. 14 Fn.

30 SASTRI, S. Kuppuswami; *op. cit.*, p. iii. Cf. DWIVEDI, R. C.; *Selections from the Brahmanas and Upaniṣads*; Delhi; 1965; Editor's Note; p. 40; and also: Cf. TRIPATHI, S. S.; *Vedāntasāra of Sadānanda*; Vārāṇasi; 1965; Introduction; p. 24.

31 MACDONELL, A. A. and KEITH, A. B.; *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*; Vol. I; Vārāṇasi; 1958; p. 92.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 91 Cf. *Sūryakānta*; *Vaidikakośa*; Banārasi Hindū University; 1963; pp. 57-8.

33 WINTERNITZ, M.; *op. cit.*, p. 211.

statements may lead one to arrive at this specific conclusion that the *Upaniṣads* more or less understand the word 'Upaniṣad' to mean 'Rahasya' or 'extremely subtle knowledge, subtle instruction, subtle text' and not *vice-versa*.

It is important to bear in mind that the texts other than the Upaniṣadic ones give the meaning of the word 'Upaniṣad' in an altogether different manner. According to the *Āśvalāyana-Grhyasūtrā* (1.13.1) certain rites connected with conception, procreation of male children, etc., are taught in an 'Upaniṣad'. In the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* (Ch. 14), all kinds of magic rites for the purpose of arson, assassination, blinding, etc. and in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana (Ch. 7) and in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭīliya (Ch. 14) all sorts of secret prescriptions relating to sexual intercourse and to cosmetics are taught in their 'Upaniṣadic chapters i.e. Ch. 7 of the *Kāmasūtra* and Ch. 14 of the *Arthaśāstra*.

Now, as far as the interpretation of Śaṅkara and those of his followers are concerned, it is to be pointed out that one fails to find any strong evidence on which the meaning can be rejected. It is certainly an interpretation of an outstanding and penetrating insight and it can by no means be discarded, for it is based on the important theme of the Upaniṣadic texts, yet, this explanation, it must be observed, does not make one satisfied, for the Upaniṣadic texts do not necessarily mean what Śaṅkara and his followers propagate. The *Upaniṣads*, as has already been brought out, are inclined to offer the word 'Rahasya' which is quite distinct in meaning from those of the Śaṅkara and his followers.

OLDENBERG, BODAS have already been criticized by WINTERNITZ³⁴ and, therefore, it will be needless to deal with them. Nevertheless, it must be said that none of them hit the mark in offering the exact meaning of the word 'Upaniṣad' as far as the Upaniṣadic texts are concerned. In connection with MAX MULLER's explanation³⁵ and confession will alone suffice in considering him to be unacceptable. He confesses:—"Upaniṣad, in the sense of session or assembly, has never, so far as I am aware, been met with."³⁶

DEUSSEN undoubtedly deserves appreciation for hitting the mark for the first time by giving a better meaning. He is right when he gives emphasis on the word 'Rahasya' but he is, perhaps, not correct when he endeavours to translate it as 'secret'. One feels indeed, that he is too hasty in doing so, if his translation of the word 'Rahasya' as 'secret' is accepted then the whole conception of the Upaniṣadic texts will entirely change and thus it will be against the spirit of the *Upaniṣads*, in which there is free approach of pupils to teachers, irrespective of caste, and that way, there is very little scope for secrecy.

34 WINTERNITZ; *op. cit.*, p. 212; Fn.

35 (See f.n. 26).

36 MAX MULLER; *op. cit.*, p. LXXX.

The Word '*Rahasya*' is indeed very significant. It cannot, however, be translated by the use of the word 'secret' for there is a great difference between the meanings of the word '*Rahasya*' and 'secret'. '*Rahasya*' can by no means be taken to mean 'secret'. The meaning of the word 'secret', according to dictionary,³⁷ is 'not to be made known'; 'to be kept private'; 'not to be exposed'. The word '*Rahasya*', on the contrary, is derived as *rahasi ekānte bhavaṃ rahasyaṃ*, i.e., 'the knowledge which is to be imported in a solitary place.'

It is strange that M. M. WILLIAMS in his dictionary gives several meanings of the word '*Rahasya*'. It offers the following meanings : 'secret', 'mysterious', etc. It is but crystal clear that 'secret' and 'mysterious' are not synonymous. 'Secret' cannot be 'mysterious' and likewise, 'mysterious' cannot be 'secret'. 'Secret' is that which is kept private, which is not disclosed; but on the contrary, 'mysterious' is that which is inexplicable, obscure, wrapped up, etc. 'Secret' is that which is deliberately kept hidden by someone, but on the other hand, 'mysterious' may also be naturally so.

The Upaniṣadic texts promulgate that the knowledge, which they contain, is '*Guhya*' or '*Rahasya*' and that must be imparted to only competent student and not to unworthy ones (*Chhândogya Upaniṣad* 3.11.5 ff., etc.). By having come across such statements authorities like DEUSSEN³⁸ and WINTERNITZ³⁹ have hastily drawn conclusions that the Upaniṣadic knowledge or *Vidyā* is 'secret' and 'confidential'. But, it may be pointed out that the Upaniṣadic *Ṛṣis* certainly did never mean that the teachings of the Upaniṣads are 'confidential' and 'secret'. The statement that 'this knowledge should be kept secret or should be veiled' is nowhere stated in any of the Upaniṣadic texts. The Upaniṣadic *Vidyā* is frequently seen being freely imparted to all the classes of those days. There was no restriction at all on learning. Anybody could learn and teach. It was a free age. *Brāhmaṇas* are frequently referred to approaching *Kṣatriyas* with a view to be instructed in the Supreme truth (*Br. Up.*; 2.1.1 ff. 6.2.1 ff.; *Ch. Up.* 5.3.7; 5.3.1 ff. *Kena. Up.* 4.1 ff.; etc.).

On the other hand, *Kṣatriyas* are also alluded to as having been instructed by *Brāhmaṇas* (Cf. *Br. Up.* 4.1.1-7; 4.2.1 ff., *Praśna Up.* 6.1; *Tai. Up.* 3.1.1; 3.2.1; 4.1; 5.1; 6.1). *Sūdras* also were participating in these philosophical learnings. Raikva, the cartman imparts his great knowledge to Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa, the king (*Ch. Up.* 4.1.1 ff). Even kings did not hesitate for the

37 (1) The Concise Oxford Dictionary; Oxford; 1964; p. 1142.

(2) M. Monier WILLIAMS; English Sanskrit Dictionary; Delhi; 1964; p. 721.

38 DEUSSEN; *op. cit.*, p. 12 f.

39 WINTERNITZ; *op. cit.*, p. 212.

acquisition of the Supreme *Vidyā* from the Śūdras. They were so hungry of learning that they could offer their daughters also to their teachers. Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa offers his beautiful daughter to the Śūdra Raikva (*Ch. Up.* 4.2.4). It is also important to take note of this fact that ladies like Gārgī (*Br. Up.* 3.6; 3.8) Maitreyī (*Br. up.* 2.4; 4.5) were keeping pace with male scholars,⁴⁰ in philosophical parleys. Maitreyī is said to be a knower of *Brahman* (*Maitreyī brahmavādinī babhūva Br. Up.* 4.5.1). It may not, however, be reasonably argued against this that these are only rare and exceptional cases and that one should not jump to any generalisation.

WINTERNITZ's argument that the Upaniṣadic *Vidyā* was 'confidential' cannot be justified on the ground that during the Upaniṣadic period discussions about the Absolute were freely held (*Br. Up.*, Ch. 3). The Supreme knowledge was hankered after even by non-human-beings as well as creatures as has been explicitly referred to by the *Ch. Up.* (4.5.1-3; 4.6.1-4; 4.7.1-4; 4.8.1-4, 4.9.1.; 4.9.2.).

It is perfectly correct that the *Upaniṣads* often warn, as WINTERNITZ has observed, against communicating some doctrine to an unworthy pupil or person. But this however, by no means lead one to think that the Upaniṣadic doctrines were not for the masses and that they were communicated only within a narrow circle of privileged persons.

In fact, the Upaniṣadic *Vidyā* is extremely subtle or deep. It is too subtle to be meditated upon in the midst of the people. The meditation upon or contemplation on the ultimate Reality requires an absolutely solitary place. It is only possible when some desolate place is selected. The word '*Rahasya*' hints at this very fact. Now the answer of the question why the *Upaniṣads*⁴¹ recommend that the knowledge should be imparted to a worthy one and not to be imparted to an unworthy one, lies in this fact that they were afraid lest all the pains of the teacher would go in vain by instructing an unworthy student. This is the reason that competent students were hankered after. Those who were able to grasp immediately the instructions of the teacher and accordingly were prepared to meditate upon the Supreme *Vidyā* were considered to be competent

40 The *Br. Up.* 6.4.17 remarkably makes one aware of this fact that during, that age a learned daughter (*Paṇḍitā*) was longed for. Śaṅkara comments that the word *Paṇḍitā* does not mean learned in Vedas, but on the contrary, it means proficient in household affairs for he says that the study of the Vedas was denied for women. But Śaṅkara seems not to be correct. Gārgī, Maitreyī; are fine examples which can prove Śaṅkaras' assertion to be baseless. During the Upaniṣadic period vedic women were not prevented from Vedic studies.

41 In the *Praśna Upaniṣad* (I. 1, 2) six people seek instruction from a teacher in respect of the highest Reality, the teacher tests their genuine interest and asks them to wait for a year. Similarly in the *Kaṭha Up.* Naciketa, who enquired as to whether soul survives after death, did not get any reply from Yama until the former had proved his competence and sincerity.

and worthy disciples. So the instructions which were imparted with utmost efforts and care should not fall flat upon the student, this tendency of the teachers of the *Upaniṣads* resulted in the search for competent students.

(1) Thus the foregoing elaborated and critical discussion eventually leads us to the conclusion that Śaṅkara and his followers, the traditional interpreters, do not satisfy one as regards the meaning of the word *Upaniṣad* owing to differentiation from those of the *Upaniṣadic* texts themselves.

(2) The *Upaniṣadic* texts more or less understand the word '*Upaniṣad*' to mean '*Rahasya*' i.e. knowledge which is instructed in a solitary place *rahasi=ekānte bhavaṁ—rahasyaṁ*. This should not be misunderstood to mean that it was instructed by a teacher to the disciple in a jungle i.e. in a solitary or desolate place because the *Upaniṣadic Vidyā* was 'confidential'. *Upaniṣads* are not at all inclined to say that their knowledge is 'confidential'.

(3) The word '*Upaniṣad*' should not be taken to mean as 'secret'. The *Upaniṣadic Vidyā* is not 'secret' at all. It is of course, mysterious and extremely subtle. The word '*Rahasya*' cannot be translated therefore, as 'secret'. The meanings of these words are considerably distinct from each other. J. H. HAUER is right in translating the word *Upaniṣad* as 'mysterious'.

(4) The complete meaning of the Title '*Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*' may now be understood as follows :

Owing to the magnitude of the text both in form and meaning it has been qualified as '*Bṛhat*'. Because it is instructed in the forest it has been called *Āraṇyaka*. And, in order to receive the subtle or mysterious knowledge or wisdom from a teacher the procedure of sitting down of a student in a solitary place near the teacher is the meaning of the word *Upaniṣad*.

GENERATIVE SEMANTICS AND PĀṆINI'S KĀRAKAS

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The observation that the words of a sentence are bound together through various "grammatical relations" that obtain between them is certainly much older than Pāṇini. However, the exact nature of these relations and their rôle in generative grammar have been, not infrequently, a fruitful source of bitter controversies in the history of linguistics. There are those who hold that these relations are superficial and valid only in so far as they can be attested in terms of affixes and other such overt markers. There are others who maintain that, whatever their exact nature, the grammatical relations are all important and universal in human language. Whether or not they are overtly marked by various affixes in a given language is an entirely different matter. The Sanskrit grammarians, by and large, were proponents of this latter view. One of their main contributions to grammatical philosophy has been the kāraka theory which treats these relations. Pāṇini's kāraka theory appears to be pivotal in his description of the Sanskrit language. Proponents of the former view include linguists from various schools of linguistic theories in the West. In recent years, particularly in the last decade, transformational-generative grammarians have espoused the latter view. Chomsky (1965), Fillmore (1968), and Chafe (1970), for instance, claim that grammatical relations belong to the realm of semantics in natural language. Fillmore (1968) and Chafe (1970), in particular, have emphasized the principle of centrality of grammatical relations in grammar. Their works suggest that grammatical relations are semantic and that a generative grammar that deals with these relations may have to start with the level of semantic representations rather than syntactic representations. Enough empirical evidence has emerged from the research efforts of recent years, both in transformational-generative grammar and in other linguistic theories (cf. Halliday, 1967; 1968), to indicate that grammatical relations are semantic relations belonging to the deep structure level. The backbone of Chafe's "generative semantics" rests on the explicit assumption that grammatical relations are semantic in nature and that the generation of a sentence starts at the level of semantic structure (rather than Chomsky's (syntactic) deep structure). Furthermore, many of Chafe's views on the topic come tantalizingly close to the Hindu views on Sanskrit kārakas (cf. Sinha, 1973b). In view of this exciting research endeavour within transformational grammar in general and in generative semantics in particular, it seems an opportune moment to re-examine the role of semantics in Pāṇini's grammar, particularly in the kāraka theory. More

specifically, an enquiry into the question as to whether Pāṇini's *kāra*kas are syntactic or semantic categories appears to be of considerable interest both to Sanskrit linguistics and to general linguistics. In some recent papers, Cardona (1967, 1970) has argued that Pāṇini's *kāra*kas are "syntactic" rather than semantic categories. It seems that although most, though not all, of the facts Cardona (1967) produces to prove his case are correct, his conclusions do not appear to be satisfactory. I wish to present a critical examination of Cardona's (1967) contention that Pāṇini's *kāra*kas are syntactic categories. Needless to say that to me Pāṇini's *kāra*kas are the most striking semantic categories in his grammar.

Cardona does not explicitly mention his own linguistic framework. In fact, while acknowledging "the extreme ingenuity and acumen of Pāṇini" (1967: 214), he points out the need for understanding Pāṇini qua Pāṇini: "one should make an honest attempt to understand what Pāṇini had to say" (1970: 239). However, the apparent assumptions underlying Cardona's remarks on the *kāra*kas make it abundantly clear that he has a serious mistrust for "meaning". He (1970) views with suspicion any attempt to incorporate semantics as an independent level in Pāṇini's linguistic theory although his appreciation of Pāṇini depends, to some measure, confessedly on Pāṇini's concern with semantics (1967: 214). This refusal to treat semantics as an independent level in linguistic theory is a familiar feature of American structuralism, and to a lesser degree, of "generative syntax" (cf. Chafe, 1970: 60-5). To Cardona (1967), semantics appears to be outside the domain of "grammar" which is synonymous with "syntax". Indeed it is this familiar theoretical background which seems to have inspired most of his views on Pāṇini's *kāra*ka theory. For him, "semantics" means, on the one hand "extra linguistique" in the sense of Al-George (1957), and on the other hand, "extra grammatical" in the sense of Rocher (1964, 1966). It seems in fact that his refusal to acknowledge "semantics" as an integral part of grammar lies behind his misinterpretation of both Al-George and Rocher. The latter postulates a semantic component in Pāṇinian generative grammar and the former enquires into the possible "Vedic ritual categories, the speculations on the symbolic experience of the archaic Indian world" (cf. Al-George, 1968: 1). Obviously, Al-George's "extra linguistique" scheme, as Al-George (1963: 1) himself explained in a later publication, has nothing to do with Rocher's (1966: 115) postulation of the semantic component in Pāṇinian linguistic theory which is considered to be similar to the logical structure of Sanskrit or perhaps to the logical structure of any human language. The refusal to accept a semantic component of some sort in Pāṇinian generative grammar vitiates Cardona's (1967) attempt to present a consistent *kāra*ka theory. For him, the *kāra*kas are "syntactic" or "grammatical" categories that are "simply a reflection of the case forms..", and in Cardona's view, to these

syntactic categories some "semantic correlates" have also been appended with good results. Let us now examine the various arguments put forward by Cardona (1967) to support his view that the *kāra*kas are syntactic categories and that the process by which these syntactic categories have been arrived at in Pāṇini can be called "syntactic" or "formal" categorization. A summary of Cardona's major points is presented below. Unless otherwise specified, references in brackets with the date 1967 indicate the page numbers in Cardona (1967). References that include Roman numbers indicate Pāṇini's rules, for example (II. III. 2-73).

1. It is methodologically unwise to start with semantic categories and arrive at formal categories. "... the study of formal grammatical categories is, if not necessarily at least practically, prior to the study of the semantic correlates of grammatical categories" (1967 : 203).
2. The uses of any one case are "much too broad" to be encompassed by any "simple" semantic correlation. In other words, "the cases are not limited to uses which are readily correlated with semantics" (1967 : 212).
3. The *kāra*kas are a reflection of "case forms". That is, the number of *kāra*kas in Sanskrit is fully determined by Sanskrit noun morphology. There are multiple *kāra*ka relations not because they form a system of semantically multiple concepts but because there are multiple case forms. Non-*kāra*ka relations, though semantically multiple, are not sub-divided in Pāṇini because there is only one case-affix corresponding to the entire set of non-*kāra*ka relations (1967 : 211).
4. The *kāra*ka definitions are meant to serve the purpose of preparing the ground for operational rules (II. III. 2-73). Thus the *kāra*kas are "conditions" set up for introducing the suffixes to IV. I. 2 and their substitutes. See I. IV. 24-55 for these "conditions". Seen from this angle, terms like *karman*, *sampradāna*, etc. are "purely grammatical terms serving as [terminological] intermediaries between the grammatical forms and their semantic correlates" (1967 : 212). "For example, the technical term *adhikaraṇa* [location] serves only to bring in (by rule II. III. 36) the seventh triplet of endings" (1967 : 211).
5. Although the *kāra*ka definitions include semantics "once the first definition of each *kāra*ka is given [I. IV. 24, 32, 42, 45, 49 or 54] subsequent rules serve to introduce terms such as *karman* under strictly grammatical conditions" (1967 : 211). Notice that "grammatical" here equals "morphological".
6. Although the distributions of most of the *vibhaktis* stated in II. III. 2-73 are dependent on semantic conditions, i.e., the *kāra*kas, some of these rules operate strictly on the grammatical or morphological conditions. For

example, II. III. 31 (to be read with II. III. 30) states that either the second or the sixth (triplet of endings) be employed with a word ending with the affix *-ena* (1967 : 212).

7. Pāṇini introduces the semantic correlations of the *kāra*kas directly in the definitions of the grammatical *kāra*ka terminology. In doing so "Pāṇini accounted quite neatly for relations among sentences .. and interrelations of paradigmatic case forms" (1967 : 214).

One major criticism that can be levelled against Cardona's first point is that it confuses linguistic methodology with linguistic theory. It is of course true, as Van Nooten (1970: 15 fn) has noted, the *kāra*ka categories (and for that matter, all grammatical categories in Pāṇini) must ultimately have been abstracted from the behaviour of Sanskrit grammatical forms. A generative grammar of Sanskrit, like Pāṇini's, could not possibly be constructed by postulating random extra-linguistic, ritualistic categories. The *kāra*ka categories, like all other grammatical categories in Pāṇini's grammar must, in the last analysis, seek justification from the actual, morphological behaviour of the roots, stems, affixes, and all other relevant grammatical constructs in Sanskrit. To this extent, Cardona (1967) is justified in maintaining that the *kāra*kas are "syntactic" rather than "extra-linguistic" or "logical" categories. Provided that the term "syntactic" means "pertaining to syntax" or "pertaining to grammar," it includes "semantics" since in this sense the term "syntax" or "grammar" includes "semantics" as one of its integral parts. Cardona (1967), however, appears to use the term "syntactic" in an ambiguous way. On the one hand, this term contrasts with "extra linguistic" at one end of the scale and with "logical" at another. On the other hand, it contrasts with the term "semantic". It seems that whereas the use of the term "syntactic" for the *kāra*ka categories is appropriate in the first sense, its use in the second sense to characterize Pāṇini's *kāra*ka categories clearly overstates the case. It also indicates a pre-occupation with Sanskrit morphology at the cost of Sanskrit semantics.

Cardona (1967) appears to be concerned mainly with the linguistic methodology of "Pāṇini and also later followers of his method" (1967 : 213). This is clear from the first section of his 1967 article: "Linguists agree fairly generally that the study of formal grammatical categories is, if not necessarily at least practically, prior to the study of the semantic correlates of grammatical categories" (1967: 203). He returns to this theme again and again: "...it is a question of considerable interest whether it would indeed be profitable or even practicable to proceed in the writing of a grammar for a natural language by first analyzing semantic categories later to be fitted into modes of expression" (1967: 202). Again, "That not only Pāṇini but also later followers of his method based their categorization on formal syntactic grounds is also clear from many passages in the *Mahābhāṣya*..." (1967: 213). The basic issue, however,

appears to be not how Pāṇini arrived at various kāraka categories but what implication these kāraka categories have for the reconstruction of the general linguistic theory Pāṇini must have had. Mere identification of the processes of segmentation and classification—a characteristic preoccupation of American structuralists—will provide no significant clues to the linguistic theory that validates these principles. The interesting question seems to be not *how* Pāṇini arrived at the kārakas but *what* he arrived at in postulating these categories. In other words, the relevant assumptions underlying the kāraka categories and the theoretical implications of these categories in reconstructing both Pāṇinian linguistic theory and general linguistic theory are important issues that promise to yield significant insights into Pāṇini's grammar. Questions relating to the exact procedures by which Pāṇini and his predecessors arrived at the kāraka categories are in fact concerned not as much with linguistic theory as with the psychology of invention about which very little is known.

Let us now consider the second point made by Cardona (1967). Cardona's dismissal of semantics in the kāraka theory on the ground that semantics is too vague and diverse is typical of "structuralists" and "generative syntacticists" (cf. Chafe, 1970: 60-5). However, this view is neither convincing nor conducive for the study of human language. It appears that the diversity and the vagueness of language, particularly of its semantic component, have often been exaggerated. Recent research efforts in theoretical linguistics and generative semantics have made it increasingly clear that a linguistic theory has to come to grips with semantics at some stage and that the semantic structure of a human language can be formulized in concrete terms. In fact the study of language without its semantic aspect does not seem to be really useful (cf. Fillmore, 1968; Chafe, 1970; McCawley, 1968, for further discussion). Both Fillmore and Chafe assume that "cases" can, in principle, be assigned appropriate semantic concepts. Fillmore's "case grammar" and Chafe's "generative semantics" are constructed on this fundamental assumption. The failure of Western linguistic theories in providing a system of rules that may adequately account for the variety of concepts normally associated with individual "cases" can largely be attributed to the fact that Western linguistic theories have so far overlooked a necessary distinction between a "concept" and a "semantic concept" in the study of "cases". A "case" may explicate several concepts in a given language but semantically only one construct may be needed. That is, a clear distinction between what is "conceptually distinct" and what is "linguistically distinct" has to be made. This point has been elaborated in Sinha, (1973a; 1973c). A given kāraka *vibhakti*, say the fifth, is used to denote several concepts (Pāṇini I. IV. 24-31). It does not follow from this, however, that the concepts themselves cannot be correlated to one single kāraka. In fact this is precisely what is done in Pāṇini's grammar. These concepts are notionally different from each

other no doubt but semantically they all have just one "meaning". In other words, although notionally distinct, these concepts are linguistically in complementation with each other thus justifying the use of one technical term "*apādāna*" to denote the entire set of concepts. The "semantic value" or "meaning" of the *kāraka* in question thus remains constant and univocal throughout its uses. This indeed is the import of Patañjali's discussion on *apādāna* *kāraka*. This view of Pāṇini's *kāraka* theory has been further elaborated in Sinha (1973a). Another quite general point, though unrelated to the one just discussed, may be made here in connection with Cardona's use of the term "case". It seems that a serious confusion can be avoided by making a clear distinction between "case" and "*kāraka*". It has been argued elsewhere (cf. Sinha, 1973a) that since "case" and "*kāraka*" are theoretical constructs of two disparate linguistic theories, viz., Western and Pāṇinian, it will be a grave error to use these two terms interchangeably. Pāṇini's *kāra*kas are not cases in the sense in which structuralists use the latter term. The widespread confusion between these two technical terms has been one of the major tragedies in the history of modern linguistics.

The third argument put forward by Cardona is based on the implicit assumption that Pāṇini was busy searching for what Chomsky (1957 : 50-1), in a different context altogether, it is true, calls "discovery procedures," and that the *kāra*kas were almost mechanically arrived at by a paradigmatic study of Sanskrit noun morphology: "Pāṇini proceeded as any linguist would: he isolated the *formal categories* of the language necessary for a statement of rules capable of producing desired sentences .." (1967 : 214, Emphasis mine). The same implicit assumption can be seen in Cardona's (1967 : 201-2, Emphasis mine) approval of Whitney's (1893 : 171) well-known remark which he quotes: "... *kāra*kas are not an independent product of his [Pāṇini's] logical faculty, but *simply a reflection of the case forms* ..." As a matter of fact, Whitney's above remark is thoroughly unjustified and as Faddegon (1936 : 18 fn.) noted, it "rests on an insufficient understanding of the notion *kāraka* and *upapada*". As Sanskrit scholars are well aware, the *kāra*kas are "reflected" not only in the "case forms" but in other grammatical constructions also. Therefore, Sanskrit noun morphology of the familiar sort alone cannot possibly yield the Pāṇinian *kāra*kas. Besides, the distribution of Sanskrit case forms is so diverse and on the surface, so erratic that no known structuralist method will be able to handle them satisfactorily to arrive at the six *kāraka* categories and the one so-called "non-*kāraka* category". As Jules Bloch (1934 : 156-7) correctly observed about Sanskrit case uses :

La difficulté fondamentale du système sanskrit tient à la multiplicité des équivalences syntaxiques. Ainsi la personne à qui on donne peut s'exprimer par un datif, un génitif, un locatif ; celle à qui on parle, par un accusatif, un datif, un

locatif, un génitif ; le but, par l'accusatif, le datif, le locatif ; le lieu, par l'instrumental ou le locatif ; et de même pour la circonstance : le temps, par les même cas et aussi par l'accusatif ; l' instrumental et l'ablatif exprimental également la cause, la séparation, la comparaison ;

The fact that Pāṇini does not sub-divide the so-called non-kāraka relations does not provide any reason to believe that the kārakas encountered in Pāṇini are syntactic (rather than semantic) categories, and that they were arrived at by familiar structuralist methods such as segmentation, classification and similar heuristic procedures based on distributional criteria. It is of course true that the sixth (triplet of endings) expresses some semantically multiple ("non-kāraka") relations but it also expresses various (semantically multiple) kāraka relations (II. III. 26, 38, 51-59, 61-68, and 71). Besides, the sixth is not the only affix in Sanskrit that can express so-called non-kāraka relations. Other affixes can also be used to express various (non-kāraka) relations. For example, the fifth is used to denote "exclusion" (I. IV. 48 and II. III. 10), and "exchange" (I. IV. 92 and II. III. 11), and "contrast or division" (I. IV. 90 and II. III. 10); the relation "more than" or "lord of" can be expressed by the seventh (I. IV. 87/97 and II. III. 9). Moreover, many of the so-called non-kāraka relations such as "similarity" (I. IV. 79), "exception" (I. IV. 87), "possibility or collectiveness" (I. IV. 96), "comparison" (II. I. 33), "repetition" (III. IV. 22), "degree" (IV. III. 55-7), and various others are expressed by various grammatical devices other than the affixation of case endings (*vibhaktis*). Thus we see that the sixth is neither the exclusive morphological expression of so-called non-kāraka relations, nor are its morphological distributions confined to them. These facts indicate that Pāṇini's kārakas are not "syntactic" categories since in a strictly formal sense there ought to be in Sanskrit not only the six kāraka categories already available in Pāṇini's grammar but also at least three non-kāraka categories based on the distributions of the three above-mentioned *vibhaktis* (fifth, sixth, and seventh) that express various (non-kāraka) relational concepts. If the categories of the kāraka relations and the non-kāraka relations in Sanskrit were arrived at by mechanically analyzing Sanskrit noun morphology then at least three categories of non-kāraka relations would have been necessary in Pāṇini's grammar to represent some of the concepts lumped together by Cardona as "non-kāraka relations". But, as we know, this is not the case. Pāṇini has six kārakas and he does not have a category called "non-kāraka". Cardona's (1967 : 211) argument that the kārakas are syntactic (rather than semantic) categories because non-kāraka relations, even though semantically multiple, constitute a single syntactic category appears to be based on a misinterpretation of Pāṇini's rule II. III. 53. From this rule, he concludes incorrectly that Pāṇini groups together all so-called non-

kāraka relations on the basis of the distribution of the sixth and postulates only one syntactic category corresponding to non-kāraka relations even though there are many kinds of such relations in Sanskrit grammar. But this does not appear to be the import of rule II. III. 53 which merely states that the sixth can occur in the remaining instances (of the kāraka and non-kāraka usages not already covered by any other rule in the third chapter of the second book). Granting the opacity of this rule (cf. Nath, 1969 : 204-6), it is hard to infer anything specific about " non-kāraka " relations from it. Pāṇini does not have a category corresponding to non-kāraka relations. One can speak of non-kāraka relations in Pāṇini only in a loose, non-technical way. The term " non-kāraka " does not exist in Pāṇini but we can use it to refer to all those (conceptual as well as semantic) relations that do not fall within the general purview of the semantic relations within the kāraka theory. All relations that are not kāraka relations can thus be called non-kāraka relations and these may naturally comprise all sorts of concepts some of which have been presented above. Cardona (1967 : 211) has rightly noted that non-kāraka relations are " semantic " in nature but he has failed to see that within Pāṇinian linguistic theory *all* relations, kāraka as well as non-kāraka, are semantic. It must indeed be a strange linguistic theory in which most of the grammatical relations including such concepts as " possessor-possessed " and " part-whole " are semantic and only six sets of relations explicated by the six kārakas are syntactic.

If the line of approach to Pāṇini's kāraka theory indicated so far in this paper and further elaborated in this and following paragraphs and elsewhere, (cf. Sinha, 1973a) is valid, we can say that the dichotomy between the kāraka and the non-kāraka relations in Pāṇini's grammar is not based on the distribution of the sixth, and consequently, it is not a syntactic dichotomy. All grammatical relations are semantic relations in Pāṇini. The basic dichotomy between the kāraka and the non-kāraka relations appears to be based on the fact that some nouns are related to an action whereas others are not. A noun related to an action is a kāraka and the semantic relation between the noun and the action called a " kāraka relation ". All other semantic relations are left unanalyzed as far as the working of the kāraka theory is concerned. Non-kāraka relations are outside the scope of the kāraka theory although some of the nominal affixes (*vibhaktis*) that express the kāraka relations may also express some non-kāraka relations in Sanskrit, hence the distinction between kāraka and *upapada vibhaktis* (cf. Chakravarti, 1930 : 199; Ananthanarayana, 1970 : 18). In other words, the semantic component of Pāṇinian linguistic theory is so organized as to make a basic distinction between a semantic relation between a noun and a verb on the one hand, and all other semantic relations on the other. This appears to be the primary theoretical distinction. Secondary distinctions are then made among the kāraka relations themselves on the basis of various con-

ceptual considerations which, in turn, yield the six *kāra*kas. The use of the sixth (triplet of endings) to express certain semantic notions, including non-*kāra*ka relations, is a fact of the language and it does not, by itself, impose any formal, syntactic analysis either on the *kāra*ka relations or on the non-*kāra*ka relations in Pāṇini. Sanskrit *vibhaktis* are neither the necessary nor the sole reflexes of the *kāra*kas. The six *kāra*kas cannot be established on the basis of the *vibhaktis* alone, nor can the non-*kāra*ka concepts be lumped together on the basis of the distributional behaviour of the sixth. In fact, as already mentioned Pāṇini does not have a category called "non-*kāra*ka" presumably because he did not intend to lump all non-*kāra*ka relations together. In short, the *kāra*kas are well-defined semantic concepts independent of Sanskrit noun morphology in so far as the *vibhaktis* are concerned and they must, therefore, be viewed as semantic categories in Pāṇini's grammar. In this view, the *karma* *kāra*ka, for example, is a necessary category in Pāṇini's grammar not because the second (triplet of nominal endings) expresses it in most, though not in all, instances (II. III. 2 with II. III. 1) but because it is in a certain conceptual relation with the action (I. IV. 49, for instance) which makes it distinct from other semantic categories such as the agent (*kartā*), the instrument (*karana*), and so on. The real advantage of considering the *kāra*kas as semantic rather than syntactic categories lies in the fact that as semantic categories the *kāra*kas can be deemed to have been established independent of all grammatical devices that may express them in Sanskrit—the nominal affixes, the verbal affixes, and the nominal compounds. Once the *kāra*ka categories are established, it is comparatively simple to state the distributions of the affixes that depend on the *kāra*ka conditions. This appears to be the scheme of Pāṇini's *kāra*ka theory which has been reconstructed in some detail in Sinha (1973a).

Cardona's observations summarized under point 4 are correct. They do not, however, lend support to his contention that the *kāra*kas are syntactic categories nor are they tantamount to a denial of the level of semantic representations of some sort in the *kāra*ka theory. Implicit in these observations is a clear recognition of at least two levels in Pāṇini's linguistic theory of which the *kāra*ka theory is an integral part. These are: the level of "semantic correlates" and the level of "grammatical forms". Semantic correlates are concepts that are variously represented by Sanskrit morphology. For example, the concept "that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of an action" can be represented, if the action is "to play," either by the third or by the second (I. IV. 42 with II. III. 18; I. IV. 43 with II. III. 2). Misra (1966: 93) has correctly pointed out that "the same concept can be represented by more than one type of suffixation." I agree with Cardona that the *names* of the six *kāra*kas are purely technical terms in Pāṇini's grammar. They are "grammatical" in the sense that they are not "extra linguistic" in Al-George's (1968) sense, nor

are they "logical" in Rocher's (1964) sense. They serve to trigger off certain rules, II.III. 2-73, for instance. In other words, the *kāraka* names can be viewed as "labels" that are taken into consideration when certain rules akin to "symbolization rules" in Chafe's (1970) generative semantics operate. For example, if a noun associated with a certain concept is called by the name "*sampradāna*" then the fourth may be used to "symbolize" it. If, on the other hand, the same concept is called "*karma*" under certain stated conditions, then the second (triplet of endings) will be used to "symbolize" this concept (I.IV. 37 with II.III. 13; I.IV. 38 with II.III. 2). These terms by themselves do not appear to constitute a separate level in the *kāraka* theory, Kiparsky and Staal (1969) notwithstanding (see also Cardona, 1970: 237). Thus, for example, the technical term "*karma kāraka*" itself is not a semantic concept: It is a "label" for a set of concepts. Once a set of concepts is labelled as "*karma*," the application of what we have referred to as symbolization rules, such as II.III. 2, becomes a simple matter. Symbolization rules thus depend on these labels although the labels themselves do not necessarily represent only one concept in each case. More than one concept can be called by the same *kāraka* name just as more than one *kāraka* name can be used to represent a single concept. Similarly, more than one *vibhakti* can "symbolize" a *kāraka* just as more than one *kāraka* can be symbolized by a single *vibhakti*. Facts such as these indicate the complexities involved in reconstructing the "levels" in the *kāraka* theory. Although Cardona does not attempt to identify the "levels" in the *kāraka* theory, his statements about Pāṇini's "adjustment" techniques "(...adjustments to ensure proper results are made both by adjusting the definitions and by adjusting the operations," and "...the semantics are distorted to bring them [the *kāra*kas] into line with grammatical desiderata," 1967: 210-1) indicate his awareness of some of the problems besetting a systematic account of the *kāra*kas in Sanskrit and the rôle of semantics in Pāṇini's *kāraka* theory. That Pāṇini usually manages to arrive at correct Sanskrit sentences by various "adjustments" in the manipulation of a highly "complex system" (1967: 213) is a valid observation but the underlying theoretical principles (or assumptions) that validate (or motivate) these "adjustments" are not at all obvious. These adjustments are neither haphazard nor whimsical in Pāṇini and therefore Pāṇini must have had a linguistic theory fairly different from what Cardona calls "any linguist's" (1967: 214) since neither American structuralism nor generative syntax provides any motivation for them. Research carried out in "case grammar" and particularly in generative semantics indicates a possible line of approach for tackling the problems in reconstructing the *kāraka* theory. Although various modifications will be needed to overcome the pitfalls inherent in (Fillmore's) case grammar and (Chafe's) generative semantics, it appears that these approaches to theoretical linguistics are along sound lines and they

may help bring about a positive breakthrough in the study of semantics in general and in the study of "grammatical relations" in particular. The reconstruction of Pāṇini's kāraka theory essentially along these lines, without however imposing any currently available "model" of linguistic theory, may prove to be a highly useful enterprise. An attempt has been made essentially within a generative semantic framework in Sinha (1973d, 1973e) to reconstruct and having reconstructed, to compare Pāṇini's and Patañjali's kāraka theories. In Sinha (1973a), the significance of these reconstructions for general linguistic theory has also been dealt with.

In point 5, Cardona has partly misinterpreted and partly misrepresented the facts. It is not true, as Cardona claims, that once the first definition of each kāraka is given, subsequent rules define the kāraka under strictly grammatical (syntactic) conditions. In this connection the following rules may be noted that provide purely conceptual definitions of the kāraka concerned : I.IV.50-1 and I.IV.55. These rules are conceptually so broad as to exclude even the mention of verbs necessary in some other rules such as I.IV.52-53. I have presented my interpretation of Pāṇini's kāraka definitions in Sinha (1973a, 1973e) where I have also attempted to reconstruct the kāraka theory in the light of these definitions and other relevant rules. Suffice it to mention here that Pāṇini's kāraka definitions (I.IV.24-55) give rise to a highly complex system. Any attempt to characterize these definitions as "syntactic" (or "grammatical") will undermine the theoretical issues involved and will result in a confusion of levels in the kāraka theory.

Let us now turn to Cardona's contention summarized in point 6 that the kārakas are syntactic categories because the distribution of some of the *vibhaktis* (that may also express certain kārakas) depend at times on certain morphological conditions (conjointly or disjointly with "semantic" condition) for example, II. III. 30-1. Cardona argues, in effect, that since the distribution of the *vibhaktis* in some instances is clearly morphologically conditioned, the distribution of all *vibhaktis* must in all instances be construed as morphologically conditioned and furthermore, the kārakas themselves must be viewed as syntactic categories established on the basis of the distributional behaviour of the kāraka and non-kāraka *vibhaktis*. This is not convincing. As has already been stated, Sanskrit *vibhaktis* express both the kāraka and the non-kāraka relations. Within the kāraka theory, their distribution is conditioned by the kārakas themselves, for example, II. III. 2, 13, and 28. Outside the working of the kāraka theory, however, their distribution may depend either on semantic or on morphological conditions or on both. This is a fact about the distributional behaviour of the *vibhaktis* in Sanskrit some of which represent the kārakas in a large number of constructions. It does not follow from this however that the kārakas are syntactic categories. It happens to be the case that some of the *vibhaktis* that are affixed to nouns to symbolize certain kārakas can also be affixed to nouns under

certain morphological conditions (e.g., II.III.30-1) outside the working of the kāraka theory. This distributional behaviour of the *vibhaktis* in Sanskrit, therefore, does not impose (or justify) a syntactic categorization of the kārakas. In fact, the distributional behaviour of a *vibhakti* when it does not express a kāraka has no bearing on the issue at all.

In conclusion (point 7), the critical appraisal of Cardona's views presented in the earlier paragraphs indicates that most of defects in his interpretation of Pāṇini's kāraka theory can be eliminated by (a) sharpening the distinction between linguistic theory and linguistic methodology and more significantly by (b) insisting on a separation of the morphological and semantic levels clearly available in the kāraka theory. We have seen that Cardona implicitly recognizes the level of semantic representations of some sort ("semantic correlates") in Pāṇini (cf. points 4, 5, and 6). His only objection appears to be that the kāraka categories are not set up exclusively on the basis of semantics and that they are not vague, ill-defined semantic notions; rather they are well defined notions in Pāṇini's grammar as they play a very important role in the generation of Sanskrit sentences. He concedes that the deliberate inclusion of semantics in the kāraka definitions was not only a necessity (1967 : 211) but also a distinct advantage (1967 : 214) since by so doing Pāṇini could account, quite neatly, for various inter-sentence and intrasentence relations within his generative system.

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DAŚAGRĪVA OR DAŚĀNANA OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA (The Ten-Headed Rāvaṇa)

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The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata present a graphic and vivid picture of the civilization and culture, the political and social life and the religion and thought of the epic age. The two together reflect almost all the aspects of the period. The Rāmāyaṇa is immeasurably superior to the Mahābhārata in its delineation of those gentler and deeper emotions which elevate the hero and the heroine to almost unattainable heights of human behaviour and conduct. The righteous devotion, divine generosity, unparalleled self-sacrifice, enviable nobility and ideal friendship of Rāma and the exemplary faithfulness, unique self-abnegation, super-human endurance, unprecedented purity and conjugal love of Sītā run like threads of pure gold through the entire fabric of the epic and ennoble and sanctify it in the eyes of one and all.

The style of the Mahābhārata is fluent and natural and there is seldom visible any attempt at pedantry or undue ornamentation. The style of the Rāmāyaṇa, on the other hand, is charming in its ornateness and the poetry is of the first order. Ever since the modern languages of India began to form out of Sanskrit and the Prākṛits, the Rāmāyaṇa had the greatest influence in inspiring our poets, both religious and secular. The Kamban Rāmāyaṇa in Tamil, Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa in Telugu, Kṛttivāsa's Rāmāyaṇa in Bengali, the Balarāmadāsa Rāmāyaṇa and the Vilāṅka Rāmāyaṇa in Oriya and Tulasī-dāsa's Rāmcaritamānasa in Hindi are deeply indebted to the proto-genetic composition of the 'Ādi Kavi'.

Notwithstanding the reverence in which the Rāmāyaṇa has been held through the centuries, the great popularity it has enjoyed and the immense magnitude of its influence on the thought and conduct of the people of India and the countries in her east and south-east for countless generations, it contains personal characterizations and episodes which tax the credulity of the modern reader and make him highly critical. For instance, in this scientific age, how can we justify a flying Hanūmān possessing miraculous energy or reconcile ourselves with the astounding tales of Sugrīva and Jāmbavān's prodigious strength? Even fabulous places like Mithilā referred to in this Mahākāvya are yet to be located accurately. Modern archaeological discoveries do not permit us to accept the description of the material culture given in this epic as genuine. The nature of the finds laid bare by the latest explorations and excavations runs counter to such descriptions given in the Rāmāyaṇa.

One of the knottiest problems posed by Vālmīki is the ten heads of Rāvaṇa. At numerous places we come across epithets like Daśagrīva and Daśānana, which credit the king of Laṅkā with the possession of ten heads, necks, faces and mouths. Occasionally in his desire to be consistent, the poet calls Rāvaṇa as twenty-armed. Below are given some verses in this context :

अथ नामाकरोत्तस्य पितामहसमः पिता ।

दशग्रीवः प्रसूतोऽयं दशग्रीवो भविष्यति ॥¹

“His father who had Brahmā-like glory, baptized his son, saying, “he will be (famed) as Daśagrīva, as he is born ten-necked.”

And,

एवमुक्त्वा तु सा कन्या राम कालेन केनचित् ।

जनयामास बीभत्सं रक्षोरूपं सुदारुणम् ॥

दशग्रीवं महादंष्ट्रं नीलाञ्जनचयोपमम् ।

ताम्रोष्ठं विंशतिभुजं महास्यं दीप्तमूर्धजम् ॥²

“Kaikāśī after some time gave birth to dreadful and cruel Rāvaṇa with ten necks, big jaws, copper-like-lips, twenty arms, a big face, lustrous hair and a body as black as coal”.

Again,

व्याघ्रो वराहो जीमूतः पर्वतः सागरो द्रुमः ।

यक्षो दैत्यस्वरूपी च सोऽद्भ्यत दशाननः ॥³

“At that time ten-faced Rāvaṇa appeared in the form of tiger, pig, cloud, mountain, sea, tree, yakṣa and daitya.”

These fantastic descriptions and shapes of Rāvaṇa show that the poet is indulging his imaginations to the full. No such human being as is portrayed in these verses is possible under the sun. The archaeological excavations in Egypt, Mesopotamia, India and other parts of the world have not, so far, yielded any skeleton of a demon (if at all such a being ever existed) answering to this description, nor of a human being with the unusual number of heads. The skeletons recovered from the cemeteries of Mesopotamia, Harappa and Lothal and the Egyptian mummies clearly show that the ancient inhabitants of these regions possessed one head. The fossilized remains of “Pekin man” of the palaeolithic ages discovered from the cave near Pekin (Pei-ping)⁴ also go to

1 Uttarakāṇḍa, Sarga 9, Śloka 32—“Nirṇaya-Sāgara” Press, Bombay, 1929 (For all the references given in the Article, this edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been used).

2 *Ibid.*, Sarga 9, Śloka 27-28.

3 *Ibid.*, Sarga 15, Śloka 32.

4 Gordon Childe V., *Man Makes Himself*, p. 45, 6th edition (New York), 1958.

prove the above statement. According to scholars like V. Gordon Childe even *Sinanthrops* and *Homo sapiens*, both the species, had one and only one head.⁵

Should, then, the statements of Vālmiki be considered as altogether wrong? Only a century ago, all these descriptions were readily acceptable to an Indian mind as eternal truths. Nothing said by Vālmiki and forming part of the story could be conceived of as untrue or baseless. This dogmatic attitude was shaken with the development of the scientific outlook. Beliefs passionately held by the older generations were questioned and attempts made by different scholars to study the Rāmāyaṇa from scientific and rational point of view and also to explain the curious phenomenon of ten heads in different ways.

Rāvaṇa's erudition⁶ and penance⁷ have been regarded as proverbial and it is contended by some that "his ten heads were symbolic of his vast knowledge and proficiency in the six Śāstras and the four Vedas."⁸

Another explanation of the peculiar anatomy is to be found in the Jaina tradition.⁹ According to it, Rāvaṇa bore a garland of nine big jewels round his neck. Each of these big jewels is said to have reflected Rāvaṇa's head and these reflections together with the real head, gave the impression of his being possessed of ten heads. But the explanation is not convincing. It may not be fantastic, but it cannot appeal to the modern minds.

Another ingenious explanation offered is that like the great Mughal emperor, Akbar, Rāvaṇa had a galaxy of nine sagacious, brilliant and quick-witted courtiers. He used to summon all of them together for consultation. Thus, ten heads would think together and this gave rise to the belief that Rāvaṇa had ten heads. But this explanation is puerile and has to be dismissed straightway, as in the Rāmāyaṇa there is no mention of Rāvaṇa having a council consisting of nine ministers.

F. E. Pargiter¹⁰ and Jai Chandra Vidyalankar¹¹ are of the opinion that this ruler of Laṅkā was also called Daśagrīva (and synonymously Daśaśīrṣa, Daśānana, etc.) and that Rāvaṇa was probably the royal title of all the kings of his tribe and not a personal name. The Rāvaṇa, who killed Anaraṇya King of Ayodhyā, and the Rāvaṇa, who was contemporary of Arjuna Kārtavīrya of the Haihaya line, were definitely different from Rāvaṇa of the Rāmāyaṇa.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-49.

6 *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, 275, 3—Śrī Mahābīra Printing Press, Lahore, 1936; Pargiter F. E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, fn. p. 277, London, 1922; Radhakamal Mukerjee, *A History of Indian Civilization*, Vol. 1, p. 254, Bombay, 1956.

7 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarakāṇḍa, Sarga 10; *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, 275.

8 Thomas P., *Epics, Myths and Legends of India*, Bombay, p. 51.

9 *Padmāyanam* (4th century A.D.); Hemachandra, *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*.

10 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 242, 276, London, 1922.

11 *Bhāratīya Itihāsa Kī Rūparekhā*, Vol. I, p. 153, Allahabad, 1933.

Rāvaṇa is a Sanskritized form of the Tamil word *īraivaṇ* or *iraivaṇ* which means 'god', 'king', 'sovereign' and 'lord'.

Radhakamal Mukerjee also corroborates the above-mentioned authors. In his 'A History of Indian Civilization', he remarks that "Rāvaṇa is a title of kings derived from the Tamil *Iraivaṇ*." He adds that "in respect of the ten heads of the King of Laṅkā (Daśānana) the explanation may be that Rāvaṇa's personal Dravidian name when Sanskritized accounted for this monstrosity."¹²

In the Mahābhārata, he is designated as Daśagrīva and Daśānana and the title 'Rāvaṇa' is explained as under :—

राक्षसाः पुरुषादाश्च पिशाचाश्च महाबलाः ।
सर्वे समेत्य राजानमभ्यपिञ्चन्दशाननम् ॥
दशग्रीवश्च दैत्यानां देवानां च बलीकृतः ।
आक्रम्य रत्नान्यहरत्कामरूपी विहङ्गमः ॥
रावयामास लोकान्यत्तस्माद्रावण उच्यते ।
दशग्रीवः कामबलो देवानां भयमादधत् ॥¹³

"The powerful and man-eating Rākṣasas and Piśācas, having assembled together, invested Daśānana with their sovereignty. Daśagrīva, capable of assuming any form at will, terrible in prowess and capable also of passing through the air, attacked the gods and daityas and wrested from them all their valuable possession and made them weep and cry, so he was called Rāvaṇa".

The word 'Rāvaṇa' is thus formed from the casual form of $\sqrt{र}$ and implies Rāvaṇa is one who makes others cry.

The following verses can be quoted from the Rāmāyaṇa as giving an interpretation of the epithet Rāvaṇa :—

प्रीतोऽस्मि तव वीरस्य शौटीर्याच्च दशानन ।
शैलाक्रान्तेन यो मुक्तस्त्वया रावः सुदारुणः ॥
यस्माद्धोकत्रयं चैतद्रावितं भयमागतम् ।
तस्मात्त्वं रावणो नाम नाम्ना राजन्भविष्यसि ॥¹⁴

Mahādeva said :

"Daśānana ! you are brave. I am pleased with your valour. You cried terribly when pressed under the weight of the (Kailāśa) mountain. Frightened by that the denizens of the three worlds cried woefully and on this account you will be known as Rāvaṇa."

12 Radhakamal Mukerjee—*A History of Indian Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 254, Bombay, 1956.

13 Vanaparva, 274, 38-40, Śrī Mahābīra Printing Press, Lahore, 1936.

14 Uttarakāṇḍa, Sarga 16, Śloka 37-38.

C. V. Vaidya, the well-known scholar and critic of the Indian Epics, tries to solve the riddle of the ten heads of Rāvaṇa thus :

“Rāvaṇa had a big head and a big neck as many powerful men have. On account of this fact he was, probably, originally called Daśagrīva figuratively, i.e., a man having a neck as large as ten necks put together.”¹⁵

Sardar M. V. Kibe has expressed the view that the ten heads or mouths of Rāvaṇa were merely ornaments and not his natural growth.¹⁶

According to Shudha Mazumdar, Rāma's father was called Daśaratha, because “his victorious chariots pierced the ten corners of India.”¹⁷ Accordingly, it may be suggested that Rāvaṇa was a very keen observer and wide-awake. He kept himself abreast of the knowledge of all the ten quarters. He is, therefore, said to have had ten heads.

These are the various explanations, reasonable or otherwise, that have been given for the ten heads of Rāvaṇa. But Rāvaṇa had only one head and this contention is also clearly borne out by the Rāmāyaṇa in various contexts.

In the Uttarakāṇḍa, we find that in his early life he was a confirmed sinner, and as often as he could, captured women from their protectors, and if they were not complaint, violated them. In this kāṇḍa, it is related that Kubera's son, Nalakūbara, had an appointment with Rambhā, the divine damsel, and when she was going to the tryst, Rāvaṇa met her on the way and, yielding to her charms, ravished her. She reported the matter to Nalakūbara who pronounced a curse.

अकामा तेन यस्मात्त्वं बलाद्भद्रे प्रवर्षिता ।

तस्मात्स युवतीमन्यां नाकामामुपयास्यति ॥

यदा ह्यकामां कामार्तो घर्षयिष्यति योषितम् ।

मूर्धा तु सप्तधा तस्य शकलीभविता तदा ॥¹⁸

“Because he ravished you when you were not agreeable, he shall not violate the chastity of any damsel without her consent. When he attempts the honour of any other woman against her will, his head shall go into seven pieces.”

Again, when the head of Rāvaṇa's council proposed to him to outrage the modesty of Sitā, the monarch has scruples and relates the reason for these in the following verses :—

महापार्श्वे प्रवदतो रहस्यं किञ्चिदात्मनः ।

चिरवृत्तं तदाख्यास्ये यदवाप्तं पुरा मया ॥

पितामहस्य भवनं गच्छन्तीं पुञ्जिकस्थलाम् ।

चञ्चूर्यमाणामद्राक्षमाकाशेऽग्निशिखामिव ॥

15 Vaidya, C. V.—*The Riddles of the Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 146, Bombay, 1906.

16 Kibe M. V.—*Location of Laṅkā*, p. 49, Poona, 1947.

17 Shudha Mazumdar, *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 16, Calcutta, 1958.

18 Uttarakāṇḍa, Śarga 26, Śloka 54-55.

सा प्रसह्य मया भुक्ता कृता विवसना ततः ।

स्वयम्भूभवनं प्राप्ता लोलिता नलिनी यथा ॥

तच्च तस्य तथा मन्ये ज्ञातमासीन्महात्मनः ।

अथ संकुपितो वेधा मामिदं वाक्यमब्रवीत् ॥

अद्यप्रभृति यामन्यां बलाचारीं गमिष्यसि ।

तदा ते शतधा मूर्धा फलिष्यति न संशयः ॥ 19

“I shall tell you something secret that happened to me. Once the young vivacious lady Punjikasthalā was going to the palace of my grandfather (Brahmā), avoiding my sight. She was under a spell of fright because of me. I disrobed and ravished her forcibly. She went to Brahmā, all tattered and torn. Brahmā came to know of this. He shouted in a state of fury, “Surely, hereafter if you do a similar deed with an unwilling woman, your head shall burst into a hundred pieces.”

Beyond all question, one curse goes against the other, but the subject at hand is to determine the number of heads that Rāvaṇa possessed. Both the above illustrations show that he was one-headed. Ravaṇa's own statement is exceedingly significant in this connection.

When Rāvaṇa, disguised as a holy mendicant, approached Sītā in Pāñcavaṣṭi, he had neither ten heads nor twenty arms. It is related by Vālmīki that when Sītā rebuked the wooer, Rāvaṇa, he flew into a rage and threw off the guise of the gentle hermit and assumed his own form, which had only two hands.

सीताया वचनं श्रुत्वा दशग्रीवः प्रतापवान् ।

हस्ते हस्तं समाहत्य चकार सुमहद्वपुः ॥ 20

“Majestic and powerful Rāvaṇa, on listening to Sītā, struck one of his hands on the other in a state of fury and enlarged his body.”

Again, in the tenth Sarga of the Sundarakāṇḍa, it is reiterated that Rāvaṇa had one head and two arms. Hanūmān, when he went to Laṅkā, found him to be a normal man asleep in his palace. There are a number of Ślokas which elucidate this fact. A few of them may be quoted here in support of this :—

काञ्चनाङ्गदसन्नद्धौ ददर्श स महात्मनः ।

विक्षिप्तौ राक्षसेन्द्रस्य भुजाविन्द्रध्वजोपमौ ॥ 21

“He (Hanūmān) beheld the two outstretched arms of the strong and sturdy Rāvaṇa; ornamented with gold armlets, they appeared like the (two) flags of Indra.”

19 Yuddhakāṇḍa, Sarga 13, Ślokas 10-14.

20 Aranyakāṇḍa, Sarga 49, Śloka 1.

21 Sundarakāṇḍa, Sarga 10, Śloka 15.

Again,

ददर्श स कपिस्तस्य बाहू शयनसंस्थितौ ।
मन्दरस्यान्तरे सुप्तौ महाही रुषिताविव ॥ 22

“Hanūmān saw the two arms on bed. They took after the two enraged dragons asleep in the Mandarācala cave.”

Similarly in proof of his having one face, the following quotations may be added :—

मुक्तामणिविचित्रेण काञ्चनेन विराजता ।
मुकुटेनापवृत्तेन कुण्डलोज्ज्वलिताननम् ॥ 23

“His lotus-like face illuminated with the glowing earrings was glistening with the lustrous golden crown bedecked with jewels and pearls.”

Further,

तस्य राक्षसराजस्य निश्चक्राम महामुखात् ।
शयानस्य विनिःश्वासः पूरयन्निव तद्गृहम् ॥ 24

“The scented air, breathed out of the big mouth of the sleeping Rāvaṇa, was perfuming the entire palace.”

The Editor of the ‘Mahābhārata’, Gitā Press, Gorakhpur, also comments:

“In this Kāṇḍa (Sundara) there has been a mention of one head and two arms of Rāvaṇa asleep in his bed-room. It indicates that Rāvaṇa in a normal state used to have this form. He, however, on particular occasions, as in battles, willed himself into a ten-headed and twenty-armed figure.”²⁵

Also, in Yuddhakāṇḍa, the “Ādi Kavi” has depicted Rāvaṇa as a usual man having normal human structure.

The following verse clearly bears out the fact that he was a man with two eyes :—

तस्य कुक्षस्य नेत्राभ्यां प्रापतन्नश्रुबिन्दवः ।
दीपाभ्यामिव दीप्ताभ्यां सार्चिषः स्नेहबिन्दवः ॥ 26

“Tears were trickling down from the two eyes of the enraged one. It appeared as if oil-droplets were dropping from the lamps.”

And even in the battle-field after his death, he is represented as having one and only one head. Rāma addresses :

22 *Ibid.*, Sarga 10, Śloka 21.

23 *Ibid.*, Sarga 10, Śloka 25.

24 *Ibid.*, Sarga 10, Śloka 24.

25 *Mahābhārata*, fn. p. 886, Varṣa 5, Aṅka 7, Gitā Press Gorakhpur, July, 1960.

26 Yuddhakāṇḍa, Sarga 92, Śloka 22.

अद्य ते मच्छरैश्छिन्नं शिरो ज्वलितकुण्डलम् ।
क्रव्यादा व्यपकर्षन्तु विकीर्णं रणपांसुषु ॥ 27

“To-day let the carrion-eaters drag your forehead lying in the battle-field, gleaming with ear-rings and pierced by my arrows.”

Rāvaṇa's real brother, Vibhiṣaṇa, reached there and described Rāvaṇa's dead body in its true colours :

निक्षिप्य दीर्घौ निश्चेष्टौ भुजावङ्गदभूषितौ ।
मुकुटेनापवृत्तेन भास्कराकारवर्चसा ॥ 28

“Your two long arms adorned with ornaments are lying still. Your crown, which is as lustrous as the sun, has been thrown here.”

When the widows of Rāvaṇa came to the battle-field and looked at his face, they mourned his loss thus :

उत्क्षिप्य च भुजौ काचिद्भूमौ सुारिवर्तते ।
हतस्य वदनं दृष्ट्वा काचिन्मोहमुपागमन् ॥ 29

“One raising her two arms fell down and rolled on the ground and another, seeing the face of her dead husband, became unconscious.”

Again,

काचिदङ्गे शिरः कृत्वा रुरोद मुखमीक्षती ।
स्नापयन्ती मुखं बाष्पैस्तुषारैरिव पङ्कजम् ॥ 30

“Another gazing at her husband's head on her lap, shed tears on his lotus-like face.”

Even verses from the Mahābhārata support the point of view that Rāvaṇa had one head. It may be instanced thus :

पूर्णे वर्षसहस्रे तु शिरश्छित्त्वा दशाननः ।
जुहोत्यानी दुराघर्षस्तेनाऽनुष्यज्जगत्प्रभुः ॥ 31

“At the close of a thousand years the invincible ‘Daśānana’ cutting off his own head offered it as an offering to the sacred fire. At this act of his, the Lord of Universe was pleased with him.”

A close observation of the above verses proves that Rāvaṇa, like other human beings, had usual limbs.

27 *Ibid.*, Sarga 103, Śloka 20.

28 *Ibid.*, Sarga 109, Śloka 3.

29 *Ibid.*, Sarga 110, Śloka 9.

30 *Ibid.*, Sarga 110, Śloka 10.

31 Vanaparva, 275, 20, Śrī Mahābīra Printing Press, Lahore, 1936.

From the pedigree given in the Uttarakāṇḍa,³² it is evident that Rāvaṇa was a descendant of righteous ṛṣis. Sage Pulastya, the son of Brahmā, took in marriage the daughter of an ascetic Tṛṇabindu, Ilavilā and was blessed with a son, Viśravas. The latter, who possessed a saintly character, first married the daughter of the famous seer Bhāradvāja, Devavarṇinī, who gave birth to Kubera. Then he married Kaikāsi, daughter of Sumālī, as his second wife and Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa, Śūrpaṇakhā and Vibhiṣaṇa were born of her.

Considering the noble genealogy, it is impossible to believe that such parents could ever beget a physical 'monster'. In fact, he had an attractive form. Hanūmān found him asleep as

वृत्तमाभरणैर्दिव्यैः सुरूपं कामरूपिणम् ।³³

"He was decorated with celestial ornaments, was handsome and could change his form at will."

Now the geographical background of the Rāmāyaṇa provides another approach to this problem. It enables us to determine the exact position of Laṅkā and of the regions inhabited by the principal tribes mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. It also furnishes information about the nature and physical appearance of the people inhabiting these regions.

While in exile, Rāma first went to the woods round Prayāga, thence to Pañcavaṭī and Kiṣkindhā and finally to Laṅkā. According to general belief Laṅkā is 'Siṃhala' and Pañcavaṭī is 'Paṇṣālā' on the bank of the river Godāvari, either in Nasik or Bastar. But on the basis of the data given in the Aranya and Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍas Pañcavaṭī is about 78 miles from Citrakūṭa and 96 from Kiṣkindhā.³⁴ Similar conclusions about the distances have been drawn by scholars like Sardar M. V. Kibe,³⁵ Hira Lal,³⁶ and Jai Chandra Vidyalankar.³⁷ In the Gondi Dravida dialect, Laṅkā is a word with three distinct meanings island, doab (land between two rivers) and high hillock. It is still used in this sense in the Uriya and Telugu regions.³⁸ Godāri in that dialect implies river and it goes as Godāvari in Sanskrit. There is a strong tradition among Gonds to trace their descent from Rāvaṇa.³⁹ Even in the census of 1891, when sub-

32 Uttarakāṇḍa, Sargas 2, 3, 10.

33 Sundarkāṇḍa, Sarga 10, Śloka 9.

34 Aranyakāṇḍa, Sargas 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 68, 69, 73, 74; Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, Sargas 1, 6, 12, 13, 14.

35 Kibe M. V.—*Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā Discovered*, pp. 8-13, Indore, 1919; *Location of Laṅkā*, pp. 8-13, 23-28, Poona, 1947.

36 Hira Lal, *Jha Comm. Vol.*, p. 156, Poona, 1937.

37 Jai Chandra Vidyalankar, *Itihāsa Praveśa*, p. 67, Allahabad, 1956-57.

38 Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

39 *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, p. 323.

castes were required to be recorded, several lakhs of Gonds returned themselves as Rāvaṇavamśīs and a great Gond King, who ruled about 400 years ago, inscribed his name on his gold coins as “Śrī Saṅgrāma Shāh, Paulastya-varṇśa”, thus mentioning prominently his connection with Rāvaṇa as Paulastya-varṇśa is an alternative for Rāvaṇavamśa.⁴⁰ The said tradition is in consonance with the generally accepted view that the Rāmāyaṇa is the story of the penetration of the Indo-Aryans into the regions of the south inhabited by the Dravidians. Keeping all this in view and the existence of a striking phonetic similarity between the names Sālakaṭaṅkaṭa, the family name of Rāvaṇa, and Amaraṅkaṭa, along with the drawings of great antiquity in the caves of the Vindhya range, eminent research scholars have concluded that Laṅkā was the peak of Amaraṅkaṭa⁴¹ which is the source of two rivers—the Narmadā emerging from one side and the Śoṇa emanating from the other. Some scholars like Vaidya⁴² and Pargiter⁴³ identified Laṅkā with the present ‘pearl-shaped’ Ceylon, while Jacobi⁴⁴ made a futile attempt to locate it in Assam. But it is evident from the Rāmāyaṇa that Rāvaṇa’s Laṅkā was neither located in Assam, nor beyond the southern end of India—a view to which Jacobi veered later on.⁴⁵

The Gonds are aborigines of the region round Amaraṅkaṭa and the Oraons and Śabarās live in their neighbourhood. The Oraons and the Śabarās are the monkeys and bears of Rāmāyaṇa, respectively.⁴⁶ Imagination has vested them with curious forms and figures. But they were all human beings and used to have matrimonial alliances with the Aryans.⁴⁷ Even to-day according to Sardar M. V. Kibe,⁴⁸ several tribes of Gonds who inhabit this tract call themselves—(1) Rāvaṇavamśī (descendants of Rāvaṇa), (2) Vānaravamśī (descendants of monkeys), (3) Komāravamśī (descendants of Komāras,

40 Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-54.

41 Kibe, M. V., *Rāvaṇa’s Laṅkā Discovered*, pp. 14-15, Indore, 1919; *Location of Laṅkā*, pp. 17-18, 29, 47, 50, Poona, 1947; Ghose, J. C., *Annals BORI*, XIX, pp. 84-86; *Ind. Hist. Q. V.* pp. 355-56; *New Ind. Anti.*, I, p. 463; Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-163; Ramdas G., *Ind. Hist.* 1940, Jai Chandra Vidyalankar, *Itihāsa Praveśa*, p. 67, Allahabad, 5th Edition, 1956-57.

42 Vaidya C. V., *The Riddles of the Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 102, 162, Bombay, 1906.

43 Pargiter F. E., *op. cit.*, p. 278.

44 Jacobi H., *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 90-93, Bonn, 1893.

45 Kibe M. V., *Location of Laṅkā*, p. 47, Poona, 1947.

46 Jai Chandra Vidyalankar, *Bhāratiya Itihāsa ki Rūparekhā*, Vol. I, p. 252, Allahabad, 1933 (The author supports the opinion enunciated Hira Lal in his article

अवधी-हिन्दी-प्रान्तमें रामरावण-युद्ध; कोशोत्सव-स्मारक संग्रह, ना० प्र० सा०.);

Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

47 Vaidya C. V., *op. cit.*, p. 154; Pargiter F. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 288-91; Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60; Jai Chandra Vidyalankar, *Bhāratiya Itihāsa ki Rūparekhā*, Vol. I, p. 153.

48 Kibe M. V., *op. cit.*, p. 51 (This information was supplied to M. V. Kibe by his friend, Rai Bahadur Brojendranath Chaturvedi, Political and Finance Minister of Reva, *Ibid.* p. 54).

sons of Rājas) and even Raghūvaṁśī (descendents of Rāmachandra). They are divided into these four principal sections.

Pargiter⁴⁹ has made it clear that the people of Kiṣkindhā, who have been called monkeys in the Rāmāyaṇa were a Dravidian tribe and the kinsmen of the people of Laṅkā. These two tribes had brotherly relations, as is evident from the following verse :—

अहं सुग्रीवसंदेशादिह प्राप्तस्त्वान्तिके ।

राक्षसेश हरीशस्त्वां भ्राता कुशलमब्रवीत् ॥ 50

“O King ! I have approached you with a message from Sugrīva. Sugrīva, the King of monkeys, is your brother. That is why he has enquired after your well-being.”

While sending his messenger to Sugrīva, Rāvaṇa addressed him as follows:

त्वं वै महाराजकुलप्रसूतो

महाबलश्चक्षुरजःसुतश्च ।

न कश्चनार्थस्तव नास्त्यनर्थ-

स्तथापि मे भ्रातृसमो हरीश ॥ 51

“King of monkeys ! you are born in the royal family of the Vānaras. You are the son of revered Rkṣarajas and are brave yourself. I regard you as my brother. If you have not been benefited by me, I have not landed you into any harm.”

It may be added that primitive people all over the world worshipped beasts, trees, etc., and figured the objects of their adoration on their bodies. The people were named after what they worshipped. While describing Totemism, John B. Noss writes, “It is natural for the primitive to think of animals in an especially intimate way, for they are closely related to them in behaviour and interests; they are mobile individuals who seek food, take to flight, or to do battle, much as he himself does. He does not feel it repugnant, in fact he finds it natural, to think that he and the animals have a common ancestry, or that some animal, a long time ago, was the ancestor of his clan. The sense of an intimate relationship with other orders of life, including even inanimate objects, is the essence of totemism. It takes several distinct forms in different parts of the world. It seems to be rooted in such intuitive realizations as this : “We are akin to the beaver, while our neighbours are akin to the grizzly.”⁵² All who

49 Pargiter F. E., *op. cit.*, p. 278.

50 Sundarkāṇḍa, Sarga 51, Śloka 2.

51 Yuddhakāṇḍa, Sarga 20, Śloka 10.

52 John B. Noss, *Men's Religions*, p. 26, New York, Revised Edition, 1956.

belong to the particular clan or group call themselves by the name of the totem, and adopt it as their badge or hereditary mark—very much as Boy Scouts call themselves Peewits, Wolf-cubs, Foxes and so on.⁵³ An Australian native belonging to the frilled lizard clan regards this creature as sacred and calls it 'father'.⁵⁴ John B. Noss,⁵⁵ while describing the various ceremonies and rites of the followers of totemism in south-east Australia refers to a tribe named Tidnamadukas (members of the totem-group of the Tidnama, a small frog). Similarly the Oxford Junior Encyclopaedia⁵⁶ mentions the crow tribe which inhabited certain parts of North America, between the Mississippi and the Rockies. Totemism was prevalent among many races in ancient India also and it is highly probable that monkeys and bears, which were amongst the totems, were worshipped by these races. The two tribes, Vānaras and Ṛkṣas, which stand out in prominence in the Rāmāyaṇa, might have been named after these animals.⁵⁷ The Gazetteer says : "All Bhuiyas affect great reverence for Rikhman or Rishiasan, some as a patron deity, and others as a mythical ancestor. It seems Rikhman was originally the bear-totem of a sect of the tribe. The bear-cult is peculiar to the Bhauiyas and links together the scattered branches of the tribe." ⁵⁸

The Gonds were originally cannibals and used to eat offal of almost every kind. Even to-day, they kill animals and do not hesitate to use cows for ploughing. They are exceedingly filthy, as "still in certain wild tracts they continue to clean themselves with a stone without using any water after easing themselves. So there is nothing to wonder at the Aryans calling the Gonds as Rākṣasas or Dānavas !" ⁵⁹

Pargiter⁶⁰ and Majumdar⁶¹ are of the view that the Asuras, the Dānavas, the Daityas and the Rākṣasas denoted human beings. But since they were generally the enemies of the Aryans, their names came to mean hostile or savage men and became synonymous with 'demon'. Even certain Aryan kings were termed Dānavas, Rākṣasas or Asuras due to their evil character. Madhu, a great king of the Yādavas and Kṛṣṇa's ancestor, from whom the latter obtained the patronymic Mādhava, is styled a Daitya and king of the Dānavas, although his descent from Yayāti and Yadu is acknowledged. On account of being Madhu's descendent, Lavaṇa Mādhava is called Dānava, Rākṣasa and Asura.

53 *Oxford Junior Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I, 474, Revised Edition, 1952.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 419.

55 John B. Noss, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

56 *Oxford Junior Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I, 11, Revised Edition, 1952.

57 Jai Chandra Vidyalankar, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.

58 *Imp. Gaz. (Provincial Series, Central Province)*, pp. 264-65, 1911.

59 Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

60 Pargiter F. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 288-291.

61 *The Vedic Age*, Vol. I, p. 313, London, 1951.

It is very likely that similarly Rāvaṇa is stigmatized as a 'demon' on account of his wicked deeds, otherwise he was a human being.

Thus, Rāvaṇa and his kinsmen, who have been dubbed as Nisācaras (Night-prowlers), were none other than the original inhabitants of India, whom the Indo-Aryans wanted to subdue in the course of their conquest of the country. It was the hauteur of the conqueror with a superior civilisation of a material type which led the Aryans to call the militarily inferior aborigines as Rākṣasas. Otherwise they had regular features which were often striking and charming. When Hanūmān entered Laṅkā, he beheld ugly as well as comely beings :—

विरूपान्वहुरूपांश्च सुरूपांश्च सुवर्चसः । 62

“Some were ugly, some could assume different forms and some were beautiful.”

The next conundrum that demands a solution, is the ten heads of Rāvaṇa. In the time of which the Rāmāyaṇa speaks, the mode of fighting of primitive people was peculiar. They used to put on skulls of animals on their heads to shield themselves from the enemy. The custom of using such armours was prevalent not only in India, but also in other countries. J. D. Mavalwala, while giving the description of arms and armours used by different countries refers that “the Ethiopian of Asia—probably the aborigines of southern Persia and Makran armed themselves with extraordinary helmets made of horses heads.”⁶³ Such curious helmets form a part of the equipment of Nāga warriors even at the present day. T.C. Hodson's account in this connection will convince any sceptic on these points. He writes, “The cane helmet which is sometimes covered with tiger or leopard skin, bears a brass disc in front and thin crescents of buffalo horns, tipped with red hair, are fastened to it in front. I have seen a red and yellow painted structure made of thin lath worn on the helmet rising at least two feet above the peak of the cane helmet. This looks like a pair of horns which it may be intended to imitate.”⁶⁴ In these circumstances one may very well think that Khara, a general of Rāvaṇa, covered his head with the skull of a donkey and that Gaja, Rṣabha and Ajamukhī, prominent figures in the armies of Sugrīva, wore respectively, the skulls of elephant, bull and goat. The different chiefs of the army might have been named after the shape of the armour, they wore in the battle-fields. Triśira, one of the commanders of Rāvaṇa, might have pressed into use a three headed mask and, therefore, was called Triśira—the three headed. Naturally, therefore, Rāvaṇa, being the

62 Sundarakāṇḍa, Sarga 4, Śloka 19.

63 Mavalwala, J. D., “The Ancestors of the Parsi Community in Iran”, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXVI, Part I, p. 107, April, 1958.

64 Hodson T. C., *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 23, London, 1911.

monarch, would have tried to outdo his chiefs like Trisira by using a superior type of armour and might have had a ten-headed mask or helmet for his personal protection or for inspiring awe amongst his adversaries. In popular imagination, the ten-headed mask might have come to stand for ten heads. A parallel instance can be cited from the history of Britain. The eldest son of Edward III was known as the Black prince, for he used to put on a black-coloured armour. It would, therefore, be within the pale of historical credibility to hold the opinion that 'Daśānana' originally implied only a ten-headed armour and not a ten-headed monster, as has been commonly held. This should dispel the superstition that Rāvaṇa was a preter natural creature with ten heads. He was certainly a human being of normal physical structure.

HORSE IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

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Horse¹ is the noblest of all the creatures that a man has subdued to his will and the acquisition of which has been, one of the chief factors in the rise and supremacy of the great nations of the ancient medieval and modern world.

It was only at a comparatively late epoch in the history of mammals that the ancestors of the horse made their first appearance, for it is not until the Tertiary period that hoofed animals begin to occur. It is among two extinct families of the Perissodactyles—the *Lophiodontidae* and the *Palaeotheridae*—that we meet what appear to be the earliest ancestral forms of the horses and the tapirs of today.

The introduction of the horse coincided with the invasions by warrior nations, speaking related Indo-European languages—Hittites in Asia Minor, Mitanni in Armennia, Kassites in Babylonia and Aryans in N. W. India. However, the Indian history starts with the Harappans, it is interesting to enquire how the Vedic Aryans came to conquer the Dasyus of the Harappan culture, though the material culture of the latter was superior. The answer may be found in many special features of Aryan life, material, social and cultural.

The Aryans, besides being a more virile race, had a powerful instrument of war-fare in the horse. It was they who appear to have first domesticated the wild horse and used it as a living tank in war, tearing down opposing armies which operated either on foot or used only mules, asses or oxen

In the *Rgveda*, the horse is given fulsome praise. It is the symbol of strength and vigour. The names of warriors are formed by adding the word 'asva'. There is a science of training and the race horses are maintained to cultivate the vigour of the breed. *Dadhikravas*, the divine horse, is lauded in one of the mantras. Moreover, the wealth in steeds is constantly prayed in the Vedas. To a people so frequently engaged in battle, the horse was of essential value in drawing the war-car; it was also indispensable in the chariot race to which the Vedic Indian was devoted. Horse was however, not yet used for riding. Only once do we hear of the riding of the horses in the *Rgveda* (V.61-2), and then it is described in such a way as to indicate that it was exceptional.

1 Yāska gives the etymology of the word as: *aśṇāti adhvānam iti*; i.e. who eats away the path or distance. To be little explicit, the fastest vehicle of the age.

Description of Colour :

The Vedic horses are called red (aruṣas), dun (haritas) and ruddy (rohitas). As all these epithets seem to be applied to the same horses (R.V.I, 14.12) the animals so described had probably ruddy heads and backs, shading off into dun on the lower parts of the body. It is also interesting to note that Pātañjali in his Bhāṣya (1.251) describes śoṇa, hema, karka (red; dun; white) as the varieties of the horses.

Distance to be covered by a Horse in a Day :

The grammarian Pāṇini calculated the distance to be travelled by a horse in one day—*āśvasya aikāhagamaḥ*.² The āśvina distance is mentioned in the *Atharva-veda*³ *Aitareya* and *Taṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*.⁴ The exact distance is not stated, but seems to have exceeded five *yojanas* (25 miles) since the *Atharva-veda* mentions it as coming after five *yojanas*. Kauṭilya states that horses of the first, second and third class drawing a chariot (rathya) travelled 6, 9 and 12 *yojanas* in one day, cavalry horses 5, 8 and 10 *yojanas* respectively.⁵ Patañjali mentions an average horse going four *yojanas* and a horse of higher mettle eight *yojanas* in one day.⁶ Thus the Āśvina distance travelled by a horse in one day ranged from twenty-five to sixty miles according to the class of the horse and the nature of work. As, against Pāṇini's āśvina (aśva-khañ), the from of the *Atharva-veda* is āśvina, derived from āśvin—a horse man.

Anatomy :

The literary evidence furnish us with data respecting not only the colour of the horses and the distance covered by them, but even perhaps their anatomy. It is a remarkable fact that the horse is said in the *Rgveda* to have only 34 ribs.⁷ And so great an authority as M. Pietrement⁸ argues that this statement is trustworthy, since in early days the Hindus carefully counted the bones of animals. Yet we must not overlook the circumstances that the ancient Hindu commentators on the Veda knew that a horse has 34 ribs⁹.

2 *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V. 2.19.

3 VI. 131.3.

4 Vedic Index 1.70, cf. Caland's note in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 10.166.

5 *Arthaśāstra*, II, 30.

6 Bhāṣya, V, 3.55, II.413.

7 R.V. 1.162.18, *catustrīṃśad vājino devabandhor vañkrir āśvasya svadhitiḥ sam eti*.

8 *Memoires sur les chevaux, a trente-quatre cotes*, 1871, *Les chevaux dans les temps pre-historiques et hitoriques*. (1883), pp. 223 sqq.

9 Ludwig (*Rgveda*, Bd. III, p. 186) thinks that the passage is astronomical. 34 ribs are equal to Sun, Moon, five planets and twenty-seven nakṣatras. And he compares the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (II.6.15) where a formula is recited at the slaughter of other animals. Here we read of 26 ribs which according to Ludwig means 26 half months are equal to 12 months plus one intercalary month.

Indian Horse in the Classical Records :

All these statements give a force to the idea that the Indians had a developed sense of horse-keeping and produced a better quality of horses. Not only in the indigenous literature, but in the foreign records as well, the roll of the Indian horse has an esteemed position. From the muster roll of Xerxes army (B.C. 480) we learn that though the tribes of the North West and Western India employed chariots and had horsemen in considerable number, "some of the Indians rode on horse back, some in chariots drawn either by horses or wild asses."¹⁰ The chariots drawn by asses probably came from Western India, whilst those drawn by horses and the cavalry came from the North-West.

By the time of Alexander, the people of Panjab mainly relied upon their cavalry, although still keeping a limited number of chariots, for the army with which Porus, the Indian King, attempted to stay the conqueror's advance was composed of 4000 cavalry, about 3000 chariots, 200 elephants and a very large force of infantry.¹¹ About three hundred horsemen were slain and all the chariots were broken into pieces.

According to Aelian¹² the Indians regard the horses and the elephants as being most valuable in war, and therefore honour them especially. The king takes particular care to see that the keepers of his elephants and his grooms provide good provender for these animals. If they do not, he punishes them very severely. 'The same writer¹³ says that the Indian horses were very difficult to ride save for those trained to do so from boyhood, and because their mouths were hard, it was customary to control and guide them not with a bit but with perforated muzzles. Hence, these horses were of great endurance.

Horse Sacrifice :

Thus, the horse being an animal of great perseverance, played a considerable part in the mythological and religious conceptions of antiquity. In the Vedic ritual, the two hymns of the *Rgveda*¹⁴ which deal with the subject, further show that horse sacrifice was practised in the earliest age of the history. This sacrifice was regarded as the most important and efficacious of animal sacrifices. The brothers of the Aryans in Europe, whom they had left behind, habitually sacrificed horses to their gods.¹⁵ Obviously, in India horse sacrifice became very

10 Herodotus, VII.84.

11 Arrian, Anab. V.15.4.

12 XIII.25.

13 XIII.9.

14 R.V. I.162-63.

15 Pliny (N. H. XXVIII.9) especially points out that when a horse was sacrificed on public solemnities the flamen was forbidden to touch it. According to Grunau (Tract. III.5.I) a reference is being made to a sacrifice of white horses and we are told that the white horses are

much in evidence. On the occasions on which the Maurya king according to Strabo, went out in times of peace, one was for the performance of sacrifice. Aśoka tried to put a stop to the killing of the living creatures on such occasions. Vaiṣṇava reformers made an attempt to spiritualise sacrifices by giving them a new ethical meaning. But a great Brahmanical revival followed by the rise of the houses of Puṣyamitra, Śiṃhuka Śātavāhana and Śiva-Skand-Varman Pallava, rites like the *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya* came to be celebrated by princes on a grand scale. Having vanquished all the enemies and thinking that all the four directions have been conquered, the Indian monarchs started to perform the *Aśvamedha* sacrifices—the quint-essence of the martial achievements. Remnants of the *śyena-citi* with a sound inscriptional evidence, can still be seen at Jagatgrām near Kalsi in U.P., where Śilavarman performed the *Aśvamedha*. However, the tradition continued vigorously in the later periods.

Horse in Sculpture :

As art and religion go parallel to each other, the exalted position of the horse led the Indian iconographers to depict it in the sculptures. Being the quickest possible vehicle in ancient India, the association of the horse¹⁶ with the Sun is quite justified as the latter traverses the whole sky in a day from the east to west. The Sun being *saptaraśmi* is being driven by a chariot of seven horses and in the later literature the word horse itself stood for the number seven.

The earliest sculptural evidence of horse we find in the Aśokan pillar at Sārnātha. The horse on the abacus of the Sārnātha pillar transports one in recollection to the world of the Parthenon frieze. It suggests the colonial Greek workmanship in Aśoka's monuments. However, the hand is alien, but the spirit is Indian.

Likewise, the chariot of the Sun at Bodhgaya reveal the dexterity of the sculptors of the period and the horses are depicted as if they are flying. The exquisite movement is worthy of note.

Simultaneously, at Amrāvati in one of the pillar capitals, the tail and the hoof of the seated horse are in a nice relief. In another specimen, the horse is very nicely decked and the facial portion being very vivid, the mastermind workmanship of the sculptor can be seen from the movement of the hoof. The master being in the front, the horse is allergetic to keep the foot in the front.

to be kept sacred for the gods because of their superior quality. The ancient Persians also sacrificed horses to their gods (Xen. Cyrus, IV. 3.24). According to Arrian (Anab.VI.29), a horse was sacrificed every month to Cyrus at his famous tomb at Pasargadae.

16 The description of the horse is given as :

*Kāṣṭhatulyavapurdhr̥ṣṭo mīthyācāraścha nirbhayaḥ,
dvādaśāṅgulameḍhraśca daridrastu hayo mataḥ.*

As the horse is the *vāhana* of the Sun, a vivid description can be had at the Sun temple at Koṇārka. The plinth of the temple has elaborate carvings, the most striking of which are the representations of eight wheels, four on each side, and of seven horses, three on the northern and four on the southern side. The horses run in front along the steps leading up to the eastern door, then follow the wheels, which terminate at the junctions of the northern and southern side of the plinth with the flanks of the northern and southern stairs. The temple thus represented the chariot of the Sun-god, drawn by his seven chargers in an exquisite manner.

Moreover, the discovery of a Terracotta plaque by Marshall¹⁷ at Bhita is also a masterpiece. With a floral border above, the four horses are in relief. The horses are plumed and harnessed as in the other contemporary sculptures.

Horse has got its identification not only with the mortal world but with the divinities of the heavenly world also. Of much importance is the horse-headed god *Hayagrīva*—one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. The depiction of this god in sculpture is found at several places, but the *Hayagrīva* temple at Hajo in Kāmrup district of lower Assam has the horse-headed deity enshrined in it.

Such is the excellent achievement of the horse. Apart from its role in the mortal world, it has an access to the divine world as well. There is no intrinsic difference between the life that flows through the human kingdom and the animal kingdom. It is for this reason that the Indian artist sought for symbol in both the kingdoms and made the presentation in the form of the god and thereby, achieved his goal by presenting god in every specie of the mankind.

17 A. S. I, Vol. 11, p. 34.

IS VASUDEVAHIṆḌĪ A JAIN VERSION OF THE BṚHATKATHĀ?*

By

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The *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya is lost to us and perhaps there are no chances of its restoration. Before the publication of *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha* (BKSS) of Budhasvāmin in 1908, Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (KSS) and Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (BKM) were considered true versions of Bṛhatkathā (BK), but Lacôte in his "Essay on Guṇāḍhya and Bṛhatkathā" has shown that 9/10th of the above works do not represent BK. In his opinion the two Kashmirian versions exhibit two different independent sources and BKSS is more authentic to BK.

The publication of *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (VH) by Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka which came out in 1930-31 has thrown new light on the study of the lost BK. This prose work in archaic Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit has been edited with the use of 12 manuscripts. Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara (6th century A.D.) not only mentions this work but has quoted it *verbatim* in his *Āvaśyakacūṛṇi*. The wanderings (hiṇḍī) of Vasudeva and his marriages accounted in VH have been described by Jinasena (783 A.D.) in his *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (HP), by Guṇabhadra (877 A.D.) in *Uttarapurāṇa* (UP), by Puṣpadanta (10th century A.D.) in *Mahāpurāṇa* (MP) and by Hemacandra (12th century A.D.) in *Triṣaṣṭiśālākāpuruṣacarita* (TSP). The story of Cārudatta and his adopted daughter Gandharvadattā, elaborately told in VH, also finds a place in Hariṣeṇa's (931 A.D.) *Bṛhatkathākośa* (BKK), Nemicandra Sūri's (1073 A.D.) *Ākhyānamāṇikōśa* (AMK), Rāmacandra Mumukṣu's *Puṇyāsravakathākośa* (PKK) and of course in Hemacandra's TSP. This demonstrates a considerable popularity of VH with the Jain authors. As far as Jain narrative literature and the history of the Great Men (Śālākāpuruṣa) are concerned, the place of VH is unique in the non-canonical literature of the Jains. Here the stories of the *Vidyādhara*s, which are more interesting than human beings or even gods, are woven into the Kṛṣṇa legend.

Unfortunately VH, like BKSS, is also incomplete; it is missing its 19th and 20th *lambhas*. The work is divided into 6 sections, the last of which is missing. From the contents of the work it appears that there were additions and subtractions in it from time to time.

VH also contains the second part by Dharmasenagaṇi, known as *Majjhima-khaṇḍa*. It is still unpublished and contains 71 *lambhas*. The author belongs to a later date than Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka. It is interesting to note that Dharma-

* This paper was read in the 29th International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, 1973.

senagaṇi preferred to add his *lambhas* in the middle (after the 18th *lambha*) of *VH* instead of adding them at the end of the incomplete work. It is also important that the 18th *lambha* just before the missing *lambhas* is the most corrupt and difficult to understand.

During the last several decades *VH* has drawn scholars' attention all over the world. Ludwig Alsdorf of Hamburg University read out a paper on the lost *Brhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya at the 19th International Oriental Conference held in Rome in 1935. He also published some papers on the subject. Sten Konow of Oslo University, besides contributing an article on the *Brhatkathā*, published an abridged translation of *VH* in Norwegian. Bhogilal Sandesara published a Gujarati translation of *VH* and presented its cultural data.* Jan de Jong of Lyden University published another article on *VH*. The author of this paper delivered a course of three lectures on behalf of the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad in 1971, published in Hindi under the title "The Development of Prākṛit Jain Narrative Literature", and is now working on a cultural study of *VH*, comparing it to *BKSS* and other Jain texts.

The publication of *BKSS* by Felix Lacôte with its French translation and his Essay on Guṇāḍhya have proved significant in the study of the lost *BK*. Unfortunately, only one-fourth of this important work is available, comprising of 28 chapters, which give an account of only 6 of the 26 marriages of Naravāhanadatta, an emperor of Cakravartins. The story of Sānudāsa (*Sānudāsakathā*), which forms an integral part of *Gandharvadattāmbha*, is elaborately told here. This account and several other narrations of *BKSS* are so identical with the accounts in *VH* that by careful reading one is able to correct the doubtful pieces of each other. Naravāhanadatta and Sānudāsa of *BKSS* play the role of Vasudeva and Cārudatta respectively in *VH*, and Madanamafñjukā, the heroine of *BKSS*, is designated as Suhiraṇṇā in *VH*.

Lacôte has pointed out that some words of *BKSS* are decidedly Prākṛit, and some are mentioned only by lexicographers, and that Budhasvāmin's language reveals a taste for archaism and a perfect knowledge of Pāṇini. In this respect a comparative study of *VH* and *BKSS* is fascinating. The astonishing similarity between both these works convinces me that both must have derived their material from some common source, which can only be *BK*.

Take the story of *Gandharvadattā* details of which are extremely similar in both versions, whereas the tale is very much condensed in *KSS* and *BKM*. This story must have been the original part of *BK*.

* Dr. Sandesara also submitted a paper entitled "Cultural Data in the Vasudava Hīṇḍi, a Prākṛit story-book by Saṅghadāsagaṇi (circa 5th century A.D.)" before the 25th International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow, 1960, and the same was published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. X, No. 1.

The first-person narration of Cārudatta (Sānudāsa) incorporates his birth, the company of his friends, participation in a festival, cutting the lotus leaves, a discussion about the footprints, proceeding to a grove, finding a *vidyādhara* (Amitagati) nailed to a tree, application of life-restoring medicines, the kidnapping of the *vidyādhari* and the *vidyādhara's* flight in pursuit of his enemy are all episodes common in both, whereas they find no place in *KSS* or *BKM*.

The same is the case with Cārudatta's (Sānudāsa's) further narration. He is made to drink lotus mead (*puṣkaramadhu*), dwells in the house of the prostitute Vasantatilakā (Gaṅgadattā), spends all his wealth, is driven out of the house by the prostitute's mother, is prevented by the doorkeeper to re-enter his own house, his reunion with his mother and wife and his departure to earn money are all common. Then Cārudatta begins his adventurous journey. He deals in cotton which is burnt by a mouse knocking over a wick from a burning lamp. While proceeding to Tāmralipti he is attacked by robbers (*pulindas*). In the company of merchants he crosses over inaccessible mountains and rivers by following various tracks such as the nail-track (*śaṅkupatha*), the creeper-track (*vetrapatha*) and the goat-track (*ajapatha*). After arriving in the country of the Ṭaṅkaṇas (Kirātas) they purchase goats and slip into the sacks made of goat skin. Then they are carried by *bhārūṇḍa* birds to the island of Ratnadvīpa. Cārudatta falls into a pond, but he cuts open the sack with his knife and gets out. He arrives at Campā where he joins his mother, his wife and Vasantatilakā who is waiting for him there. These details are almost identical in both versions, although the exact sequence of events differs at times.

According to Lacôte the marriage of Madanamañjukā, daughter of a harlot, with the prince supplies us with a most decisive proof of the superior accuracy of *BKSS*. Like Vasantasenā of *Mṛcchakaṭika*, who is raised to the status of a lawful wife of Cārudatta, Madanamañjukā is also awarded a royal origin in *BKSS*. Curiously enough, the same status has been allotted to Suhiraṇṇā, a counterpart of Madanamañjukā in *VH*, whereas she has been assigned an insignificant role in the Kashmirian versions.

The only difference is that in *VH* Suhiraṇṇā has been snatched from Vasudeva, the hero, and transferred to Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa. Otherwise the details of the story, such as falling in love with the prince at a young age, participating in a dance competition, the division of men in accordance with wealth, religion and desire, the entry into a dwelling place of prostitutes, entertainment by Bhogamālinī (Padmadevikā) first by massaging the feet and then by pressing with the breasts, the narration of her mistress's sufferings, Suhiraṇṇā's attempt at suicide, Buddhisena's (Gomukha's) carrying the message to the prince, the origin of prostitutes, the union with the prince and the wedding are all one and the same in both versions, with the exception of the later abduction of Madanamañjukā, which is described only in *BKSS*.

Another strikingly exact resemblance is the story of Kokkāsa (Pukvasa in *BKSS*) who learned the art of building flying machines from the Greek artists. Under no circumstances was he prepared to divulge this secret to anyone, and when he was pressed for it by his father-in-law, he disappeared with his wife to some unknown place. This reference and other references about the contacts between India and Greece have led Winternitz to remark that Guṇāḍhya's work was written during the 1st century A.D.

There are other identical narrations in *VH* and *BKSS* which are worth noticing :

The marriage of Nīlayasā of *VH* bears resemblance to the marriage of Ajinavati in *BKSS*. The meeting of the cowherds outside the village mentioned in the chapter of *Ajinavatīlābha* in *BKSS* finds a place in *Somasirīlāmbha* of *VH*. As Gomukha (Āryakaniṣṭha) goes in search of Naravāhanadatta (Āryajyeṣṭha), so does Aṃśumān (brother of Vasudeva's wife) go in search of Vasudeva. The chapter *Puṇḍrālāmbha* of *VH* has interesting similarities to *Priyadarśanālābha* (comprising 21-27 chapters of *BKSS*). Vasudeva and Aṃśumān decide to visit Bhadrilapura (Vārāṇasī in *BKSS*). On their way Vasudeva asks Āryakaniṣṭha to tell some interesting story to relieve their fatigue (here types of stories are described in both). After reaching their destination, Āryakaniṣṭha goes in search of a resting place in the city and makes some money in a gambling house. They meet Nanda and Sunanda (Nanda and Upasanda), the two renowned cooks. They come across a nun (Rṣidattā in *BKSS*), a follower of the Jain religion. Aṃśumān (Gomukha) marries Sūtārā (Rṣidattā). After singing a song in an assembly of citizens Vasudeva falls ill and no physician can cure him. It is discovered that since the time he saw a young king (Priyadarśana) in the music assembly, he was feeling love-stricken. This young king was born as a maiden, but after some medicine was thrust into her thigh (in *BKSS* some magic plant was tied around her neck), she appeared like a young boy. Vasudeva pays tributes to Aṃśumān (Naravāhanadatta to Gomukha ; the words are almost identical). Vasudeva marries Puṇḍrā (Priyadarśanā).

It is noteworthy that these episodes are totally absent in the Kashmirian versions.

Lacôte pointed out in his Essay that the work of Guṇāḍhya had been continually altered, not only in language but also in subject-matter. So there is no wonder if the authors of *VH* and *BKSS* have utilised the material from *BK* as it was available to them. Winternitz thinks that Budhasvāmin stands closer to the work of Guṇāḍhya than its Kashmirian version does.

The work of Guṇāḍhya was such a fantastic novel of adventures that it could not be overpassed by Jain authors. But the question was how to adjust it to their traditional framework, since the universal history comprising 63 Great

Men was already accepted. So instead of disturbing Kṛṣṇa's legend they made Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇa's father, a hero so that during his wanderings they could utilise interesting material of *BK* and insert their own traditional history.

As a result the biography of the *Tīrthaṅkaras*, *Cakravartins*, *Baladevas*, *Vāsudevas* and *Prativāsudevas* was added in between the narration. The story of Pippalāda, composer of the *Atharvaveda*, and the story of the Jain monk Viṣṇukumāra, which seems to have been based on the Brahmanic Viṣṇu-Bali legend, were inserted during the course of Cārudatta's self-narration. During the story of Dhammillaḥiṇḍī, which is a later addition, the story of the monk Aḡaḡadatta and the story of Kokkāsa, taken out from its proper context, were introduced. The legend of Kṛṣṇa was made colourful by adding the accounts of Pradyumna, Śamba and Subhānu and a number of religious and secular tales were inserted to make the work more interesting.

Regarding the date, Lacôte has placed Budhasvāmin in the 8th or 9th century A.D., but the structure of his language rather puts him in the Gupta period. With regard to *VH*, Alsdorf in his article "Vasudevahiṇḍī, a Specimen of Archaic Jain Maharashtra" printed in 1936-7, pushes its date close to the canonical text of the Jains. In his opinion, *VH* is a Jain version of *BK*, independent of the two Kashmirian and Nepalese versions, and highly valuable for the reconstruction of the lost *BK*. Then the old *Veḍha* metre, often used in *VH* and unknown outside the Jain Canons, is considered by him another proof of the antiquity of this version.

As mentioned above, the wanderings of Vasudeva are described by Jinasena, Hemacandra and other Jain writers with small variations to *VH*. It is possible that *VH* had more than one version and in that case Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka should be taken as a redactor of the text and not its author. That the present edition based on 12 manuscripts is still corrupt reflects its long text history.

Lacôte in his Essay has referred to the story of Gandharvadattā mentioned in Tawney's translation of *Kathākośa*, but unfortunately he made no reference to Hemacandra's *TSP*, which gives details of Vasudeva's marriages. Had he known it he would have given due consideration to the Jain version of the lost *Brhatkathā*.

MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN STUDIES X.

By

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Notes on Some Vocables in Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts

1. *Lipikareṇa*

The close similarity of the three versions of MRE I found in Mysore at Brahmagiri (= Brah.), Siddāpura (= Sid.), and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvar (= Jaṭ.) is doubtless due to the fact that they were all inscribed, probably from the same exemplar, by the same scribe Capaḍa who wrote his name, and also the word *lipikareṇa* in Kharoṣṭhī script, at the end of each. The whole word is legible at Brah., Sid. has only the final akṣara *na* visible; in the version at Jaṭ. *pikareṇa* can be read.

Much has been made of the presence of this word in a non-Brāhmī script at the end of a Brāhmī inscription, ranging from the assumption that the scribe had served in and been transferred from the North-West, to the guess that the whole set of the Mysore, and other, versions of MRE I and II were drafted in the North-Western dialect, and indeed issued in the North-West. It seems to me that this one word in the Kharoṣṭhī script implies no such thing.

I am convinced that if the scribe had in fact been a North-Westerner, to whom Kharoṣṭhī was, so to speak, the natural medium for writing, he would certainly have written not merely his profession but more especially his name in Kharoṣṭhī. Furthermore, his profession in the North-Western dialect, and therefore in the script employed for the North-Western dialect, and therefore in the script employed for the North-Western dialect, was not *lipikara-* but *dipikara-*. There is no conceivable reason why a North-Westerner should bother to translate the name of his profession into a non-North-Western form when he was writing it in a North-Western script which no-one in Mysore was likely to be able to read.

I personally am certain that the explanation is simple. At some point in his career the scribe Capaḍa had met a Kharoṣṭhī-writing scribe, and had been shown how to write the name of his profession in (naturally) its non-North-Western form in this exotic script, perhaps in return for teaching the North-Western scribe how to write *dipikareṇa* in Brāhmī script. The appearance of the word *lipikareṇa* at the end of the three Mysore inscriptions merely shows his pride in his knowledge.

2. *Drahyitavyaṃ*

In line 9 of the Brah. version of MRE II occurs the phrase *prāṇesu drahyitavyaṃ*. The second word is unfortunately not clearly legible in the other two

Mysore versions, but the traces there are consistent with the same reading. H. translates (p. 178) "firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals." Bloch translates (p. 150) " se contraindre à l'égard des êtres vivants. " Woolner (s. v.) quotes Bühler's translation " should be made firm, " and Vincent Smith's " must be enforced ", and proposes an etymology from *dṛh-* " to be firm, " assuming that the future passive participle is based upon a present stem **darhyati*.

In the corresponding passage at Yerragudi (= Yerr.), however, we find *prāṇesu dayitaviye*, and the traces at Rajula-Mandagiri (= Raj.) are consistent with this reading. Clearly this is easier to translate : " one should take pity on living creatures. " Although Bloch (p. 150, n. 16) tries to justify the use of the root *dṛmh-* by saying that the idea involved is that expressed by *saṃyama* in RE IX, it is to be noted that Aśoka uses the word *dayā* in PE II.

Mehendale notes (p. 162, n. 18) that the use of *dṛh-* with *prāṇesu* would be unusual, as the standard phrase in the Aśokan inscriptions is *p(r)āṇesu anā-rambho/anālaṃbhe*; he therefore suggests reading *druhyitavyam* from the root *druh-* " to hurt, to seek to harm. " He points out that this supposes that a word like *no* " not " was omitted in writing. In this particular example we may assume that if a syllable had been omitted the fault was in the exemplar, since " not " is omitted in the Jaṭ. version too (the line at Sid. is damaged). There are many examples of words or syllables being omitted in the Aśokan inscriptions because of a fault in the exemplar, but in most cases the scribes seem to have made a conscious effort to correct the fault. It seems unlikely that the scribe Capaḍa would two or three times inscribe something which was clearly opposed to Aśoka's views and quite inappropriate to the spirit of the edict.

In Sanskrit the root *day-* occurs with a present tense *dayate* (constructed with the accusative or genitive cases) with the meaning " to have pity on ", and also with a causative form (quoted in the optative *dayayet*) with the same meaning. In Pāli we find *puttesu dayyāsi* (Jātaka vi 495, glossed *dayyāsi*, *dayaṃ mettāṃ kareyyāsi*) which confirms the usage with the locative case. The form *dayyāsi* is strange and is perhaps a corruption of **dayeyyāsi*. We also find *evaṃ Pañcālacando te dayitabbo* (J vi 445, glossed *dayitabbo ti*, *piyāyitabbo*), and *sesaṃ sesaṃ dayitabbam* (J iii 95, glossed *dayitabbam*, *dayāyitabbam mettāyitabbam*). We can therefore deduce that there existed in Pāli a denominative verb from *dayā*, i.e. *dayāyati*, not listed in the Pāli-English Dictionary. If either this denominative verb or the causative form of *day-* was in the original draft, i.e. *dayāyitaviye*, the scribe responsible for the exemplar to be used at Yerr. and Raj. might not have been familiar with this denominative/causative form and might have preferred to write the simple verb *dayitaviye*, either thinking that the form before him was an error due to dittography or believing that the simple verb was the correct form for his own dialect. The scribe responsible for producing the Mysore exemplar found in the version before him not *dayāyitaviye* but some-

thing which he read as *dahayitaviye*, i.e. *ha* written for *ya*. This error is not unlikely, since *ya* is 𑀲 in the Aśokan Brāhmī script, and *ha* is 𑀢 , i.e. an incomplete *ya* with a short horizontal stroke added to the right (cf. the comment on the possible confusion between *la* and *ya* below). If the scribe received an incomplete *ya*, which made no sense, he might well have "corrected" it by adding the stroke which turned it into *ha*. The word he received therefore appeared to be from a stem *dahay-*, which he assumed was from *dahy-* with a *svarabhakti* (epenthetic) vowel *-a-*. He removed this vowel, perhaps as being alien to his own dialect, and at the same time (and for the same reason) removed the *svarabhakti* vowel *-i-* from the future passive participle ending *-taviye*. The scribe(s) responsible for producing the exemplars for MRE II sometimes restored *-r-* to consonant groups, e.g. in *prāṇesu*. Here the scribe "restored" *-r-* to the verb he thought he recognised, i.e. *d(r)ah-*. Although in classical Sanskrit the *guṇa* grade of *dṛh-* is *darh-*, there is one example quoted from the R̥gveda with *drah-* (and *-y-*), i.e. *drahyat*, and there is no reason to doubt that variants of the type *drah-darh-* could have existed in local dialects.

What evidence is there that any of this happened? There is one clear indication that the word which the scribe had before him had something strange about it which caused him to give it special attention and special treatment. We know that the future passive participle ending in the eastern dialect, which would have been in Aśoka's original draft, was *-taviye* in both the nominative singular masculine and the nominative singular neuter. The ending occurs eight times in MRE II at Brah., and in seven of them the scribe retains the *svarabhakti* vowel *-i-*. In one case only, *drahyitavyaṃ*, does the scribe write the conjunct *-vy-*. The implication is that the scribe saw something at this point which made him stop copying his exemplar without change and begin to translate into his own dialect. I would suggest that it was the sight of the strange form *dahay-*, with the unusual *svarabhakti* vowel *-a-*. Once the scribe realised that this was strange, even as an eastern form, then he corrected it into his own dialect, i.e. with the conjunct *-hy-*. He continued to translate, writing *-vy-* and also the neuter ending *-aṃ*. He wrote the same ending for the next two words *saccaṃ* and *vataviyaṃ*, although in the latter he reverted to writing the *svarabhakti* vowel *-i-*. He then gave up translating and the next time a future passive participle occurred he merely copied his exemplar and wrote *ñāṭikesū pavatitaviye*.

3. *Vālata*

In line 4 of the Rupnath (= Rup.) version of MRE I there occurs, according to H.'s reading, *lekhāpeta vālata* which he translates (p. 169) "cause ye (this matter) to be engraved (on rocks) where an occasion presents itself." Senart conjectured *lekhāpetaviye ti*. but H.'s comment was (p. 169, in. 1) "this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful."

Bühler suggested that *vālata* stood for *pālata*, i.e. *paratra*, and translated "in the far distance (and here)." H. himself suggested the translation "where an occasion presents itself", and he was followed by Bloch who translates "(à l'occasion)" (p. 149), in brackets because the word is in the Rup. version only. Despite H.'s comment on Senart's suggestion, it seems to me that it is the only possible explanation of the passage, and the changes required in the text to effect it are by no means as extensive as H. believed.

The sentence reads *iya ca aṭhe pavatisu lekhāpeta vālata* according to H. He states correctly (p. 169, n. 1) that we should have expected the accusative *aṭham* instead of the nominative *aṭhe*, if it is the object of the (supposed) imperative *lekhāpeta*. Since, however, it is a nominative, we should expect a passive verb. There is the expected passive verb in the next clause, *lākhāpeta-vaya*, of which *aṭhe* is also the subject. We should therefore have expected the two passive verbs to be the same. This view is supported by the parallel version at Sahasram (= Sah.), where we have the same imperative *likhāpayatha* (or *-ātha*) repeated twice and *aṭham* (once) as the object of both. We have no way of telling which was the original form of Aśoka's edict, so we cannot tell which scribe changed the syntax. A comparable change of syntax is found in RE IV (J) where four versions have an injunctive based upon *mā alocayisu*, but the fifth version at Girnar changes the construction from active to passive, and employs a future passive participle *no locetavyā*.

It is similarly a future passive participle, with the ending *-taviya-*, which the scribe at Rup. used. What he should have written in line 4 was *lekhāpetaviye ti*, but what he actually wrote was *lekhāpetavāla ta*. In line 5, as just stated, he wrote *lākhāpetavaya ta*. In the same line another verb with the same ending occurs, viz. *vivasetavāya ti* (where Sah. again has an imperative *vivasayātha*). The ending *-tavāya* shows clearly that the scribe was intending to write *-taviya-*, for the symbol for *-ā-* is an incomplete *-i-*, and the mis-writing of one for the other is a common fault. In the three occurrences of *-taviya-* in these two lines, then, the scribe failed to write any vowel at all once, and twice wrote *-ā-* for *-i-*. Of the three occurrences of *ti* he twice wrote *ta*. The only point remaining to be explained is the writing of *la* for *ya*. Here the similarity between the symbols probably explains the mistake. Just as *ha* is an incomplete *ya* with a short horizontal stroke to the right (see above), so *la* is an incomplete *ya* with a short horizontal stroke added to the left. If the copy in front of the scribe had *ya* written badly or incompletely, he might well have copied down what he received, which would be meaningless, and then turned it into something he recognised, by adding a stroke to the left. If this *akṣara* is compared with the other occurrences of *la* in the inscription it will be noted that it is slightly different, in that the stroke to the left seems more pronounced, and

separate (although this may be a defect of the photographic reproduction), as though it were due to an after—thought on the part of the scribe.

There is of course no way of telling what the scribe thought he was writing when he “corrected” the defective *akṣara* to *la*, but it seems quite certain that there was no word *vālata* in the original draft of the edict.

4. *Upāsake*

Of the fourteen versions of MRE I which are known at the time of writing, seven include the word *upāsake* in the second sentence of the inscription proper, five are illegible at this point, and two are divergent. Rup. reads *prakāsa* [sa] k [e] according to H., who translates “(I am) openly a Śākya”, and Maski (= Mas.) reads *bu* [dha] - *śake* which H. translates “(I am) a Buddha-Śākya.”

It seems clear that the original version of the inscription must have had *upāsake*, and any variation from this at Rup. and Mas. must be due either to error or scribal emendation somewhere in the train of transmission. A careful examination of these two versions will help us to decide how their readings came into existence.

(a) Maski : H. notes (p. 174. n. 5) that *budha* has been corrected from *upā*, and he quotes Senart's view that the scribe may have wavered between writing *upāsake* and *budhupāsake*. It seems clear that the scribe in fact wrote *upāsake* at first. Since this word can be used of religions other than Buddhism, we may surmise that until the scribe came to the phrase *saṅghaṃ upagate* he did not realise that *upāsake* meant (*budha*-) *upāsake*. He therefore went back to *upāsake* and on his own initiative began to “correct” it. It is simple to change *u*- (└) into *bu* by adding the other sides of the rectangle to form *ba* (□), and then writing the *u-mātrā* at the bottom. The lower half of *pā* is easily changed into *dha*, but the *ā-mātrā* still remains visible at the top. The short vertical stroke at the bottom of this *akṣara* I take to be the *u-mātrā*, giving the reading *budhu*. The scribe should then have inserted *pā*, to give *budhu* [pā] *śake*, but failed to do so. The apparent word *śake* is therefore the remains of the original reading *upāsake*.

(b) Rupnath : H. notes (p. 166, n. 3) that the first syllable of *prakāsa* looks like *pā*, and that there is a gap between *prakāsa* and *k* [e]. In this gap he proposes to read [sa] because of -*śake* in the Mas. version. Bloch (p. 145) reads *pākās. ke*, presumably believing that the scribe deliberately left a gap uninscribed, perhaps because of the state of the rock surface. It should be noted that the gap is large enough for at least two *akṣaras*, and H.'s emendation still leaves a gap to fill.

I do not agree with either H. or Bloch in reading *pra* or *pā*. The shape of the lower half of the *akṣara* seems to me to indicate that the scribe first wrote *pā*,

i.e. he omitted *u-* by error. He realised his mistake and tried to change *pā* into *u-* (L). The resultant *akṣara* still shows the *ā-mātrā* at the top, exactly as in the conversion at Mas. described above. In his confusion the scribe then wrote *kā* for *pā*, but correctly finished the word by writing *sake*. I would therefore read *ukāsake* at Rup., as a mistake for *upāsake*. As at Mas., there is no evidence that the scribe had any intention of referring to *Śākya*, and it seems certain that Aśoka did not include any such word in his original draft of the inscription.

5. *Hadha*

The two versions of MRE I at Rup. and Sah. differ from the other versions in that they include an order to the officials to whom they are addressed to inscribe the edict upon mountains (presumably meaning natural rock surfaces) and stone pillars. In both versions the passage referring to stone pillars is partially defective, and the sense is not entirely clear.

The version at Sah. reads, according to H., *ya... [vā] ath [i] hetā silā-thambhā tata pi [likhāpayatha t] i*. He restores *yata* for *ya..* and translates, "and where there are stone pillars here (in my dominion), there also cause (it) to be engraved." The version at Rup. reads, according to H., *hadha ca athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā-ṭha[ṃ]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta*. He translates, "and (wherever) there are stone pillars here, it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars." He notes (p. 169, n. 3) that "here" means "in my territory", and also observes (p. 167 n. 9) that Bühler and Senart correct the first word of the sentence to *hidha*, although instead of it the context seems to require *yata* (= Sanskrit *yatra*), but such a change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained.

We must, I think, assume that both versions were trying to say the same thing, in which case any idea of a meaning "where" for *ya...* causes difficulties, since there is no possibility of *hadha* being a relative pronoun. There is, however, elsewhere in the Aśokan inscriptions a pair of words beginning with *ya-* and *ha-* and having the same meaning, viz. in RE IX (M) where the versions at Kalsi and Yerr. have *hañce* "if", that at Mansehra has *hace*, but the version at Shahbazgarhi reads *yadi*. Clearly the same alternation in MRE I would make excellent sense: "Inscribe it on the mountains; if there are stone pillars inscribe it there too."

There is no difficulty about restoring *yadi* instead of *yata* for *ya...* at Sah. In fact, I think I can read *-i-*. A careful examination of the Rup. version reveals the possibility of reading *haca* for *hadha*. The *akṣara dha* occurs twice earlier in this inscription at Rup., in *ārodheve* (line 3) and *apaladhiyenā* (line 4). In both examples the curve of the *dha* is on the right-hand side, i.e. it is what Upāsak calls the "standard form." In *hadha*, however, the curve

is on the left-hand side. Although there are examples of both forms of *dha* occurring in one and the same edict, it should be noted that such a "left-hand" *dha* differs from *ca* (d) only in respect of lacking a short vertical line extending above the curee. I believe that in this case the scribe either miscopied his exemplar, omitting the vertical line, or received a defective exemplar with *ca* mis-written.

The other changes needed to produce *hamce* are easily accounted for. The scribe at Rup. did not always write *m*, e.g. in this same sentence he writes both *-ṭhabhe* and *-ṭhambhe*. Nor did he always write final *-e* (see the discussion of *vālata* above).

As stated above, H. reads the word following *ya...* at Sah. as [*vā*], although Bloch (p. 150) reads *cā*, possibly because of the clear *ca* at Rup. Now that *yadi* is proposed as the correct reading, *vā* would be more likely, in view of the frequency of occurrence of *yadi vā* in both Sanskrit and Pāli. We should therefore rather think of reading *va* at Rup. instead of *ca*. In view of the frequent confusion of *va* and *ca* in the Aśokan inscriptions, there seems to be no great objection to this.

Notes

1. See Journal of the Oriental Institute (Baroda), Vol. XXI, p. 331.
2. Abbreviations : (M) RE = (Minor) Rock Edict; PE = Pillar Edict; SE = Separate Edict; H. = E. Hultzsch, The Inscriptions of Aśoka; MW = Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

References : Bloch = J. Bloch, Les inscriptions d'Aśoka; Mehendale = M. A. Mehendale, North—Western (and Western) influence on the Mysore edicts of Aśoka, JAS Bombay, Vols. XXXI-XXXII, pp. 155-75; Upasak = C. S. Upasak, The history and palaeography of the Mauryan Brāhmī script; Woolner = A. C. Woolner, Asoka text and glossary, Part II.

3. Bloch (p. 24) calls it "une signature", and implies that it occurs only at Brah.
4. Hultzsch, p. xlii.
5. Mehendale, p. 156. n. 3.
6. Hultzsch, p. xlii.
7. Transactions of the Philological Society, 1970, p. 134.
8. MW, s. v. *day-*.
9. For another example of a scribe "restoring" *-r-* to a word received in a faculty exemplar, cf. *grath-/ghrath-* in RE XIII (G) at Shahbazgarhi and see TPS 1970, p. 135.
10. MW, s. v. *drmh-*.
11. See JRAS, 1958, p. 47, n. 8.

12. *vataviyā, susūsitaviye, drahyitavyam, vataviyam, pavatitaviyā, apacāyitaviye, pavatitaviye, kaṭiviye.*
13. Ind. Ant. XXII, p. 305.
14. JRAS, 1911, p. 1116.
15. See Indo-Iranian Journal, X, pp. 163-4.
16. The scribe wrote *ta* for *ti* again in line 6. In line 4 he wrote both *vaḍhisiti* and *vaḍhisata*.
17. For *śa* in the Aśokan inscriptions see BSOAS, XXXIII, pp. 138-40.
18. The repetition of *-ṭhaṃbha* presumably reflects the scribe's attempt to show that he understood "there" (*tata*) to mean "there-on".
19. Since *hetā* is usually demonstrative (see IJJ, X, p. 167), it probably means "there" = "where you (the recipients of this order) are".
20. Bühler states (Ind. Ant. XXII, p. 305), "*hadha* is either a mistake, or a vicarious form for *hidha*". The latter word would presumably result from a confusion of *hida* and *idha*.
21. Upasak, p. 83.
22. e.g. in SE I at Dhauḷi *ālādhayisatha* in line 9 and *dhaṇṇma* in line 10 : in PE VII *dhaṇṇma* in line 22 and *dhaṇṇma* in line 28.
23. See Woolner, s.v. *vu*.

PRATIHĀRA SCULPTURES FROM CHOṬĪ-KHĀṬU, RAJASTHAN

By

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The region of Jodhpur is quite rich in respect of Pratihāra temples and sculptures. A few years back some early sculptures were discovered studded into the walls of a step-well at Choṭī-Khāṭu in district Nagaur, Rajasthan. Datable to the late 8th Century, they are welcome additions to the early Pratihāra art of the region. Most important of them may be described in brief in this paper. —

1. *Lady Standing in Tribhaṅga Pose* (Fig. 1) and bearing affinity with contemporary carvings on the exterior of early temples at Osīān. The lower portion of the necklace appears between the prominent breasts carved under the impact of earlier art traditions and surviving at most of the Pratihāra centres in Rajasthan. The absence of *Ūru-jālaka*, but for a sash like girdle hanging on the thighs, also testifies to an early dating for the sculpture under reference.

2. *Carved Pilaster* (Fig. 2) also presents very interesting details. Starting with the *Kirtimukha* motif on the top, they include flying *Vidyādhara*s carrying garlands on their shoulders, vase and foliage motif, inverted lotus and the *Kinnara* couple inside a dotted circle. Floral designs on the exterior of full vase (*ghaṭa*) are equally charming. Such a carving on pillars and pilasters was a regular feature during the Pratihāra period, a fact which is well corroborated by the sculptural wealth of Osian temples.

3. *Human Head inside a Circle*.—A number of architectural fragments from Choṭī Khāṭu depict various Brahmanic deities inside the *Caitya* arches. Besides, these, a human head can be seen inside a dotted circle on one panel (Fig. 3). The curly hair on the head remind us of Gupta art devices which survived during the early-mediaeval period, specially at Osian, Abaneri, Vasantgarh etc. In fact, such carvings of the Gupta period from Bhumarā (M.P.) are well-known to art critics and scholars. The row of miniature pilasters below the human head, in the Choṭī-Khāṭu relief under study, are also worth taking note of.

4. *Kubera*—The statue of pot-bellied Kubera (Fig. 4) is equally interesting. The two armed deity is shown seated like a *Yakṣa*; he puts on a flat torque (*graiveyaka*) under the impact of early traditions; the body is likewise quite massive and muscular. The face of Kubera is damaged but the low crown suggests an early date. He holds a cup of wine in his right hand and a purse (*nakulaka*) in the other. The vehicle is conspicuous by its absence. Exactly



Fig. 1
Female Figure, Choti Khatu, Nagaur (Rajasthan)

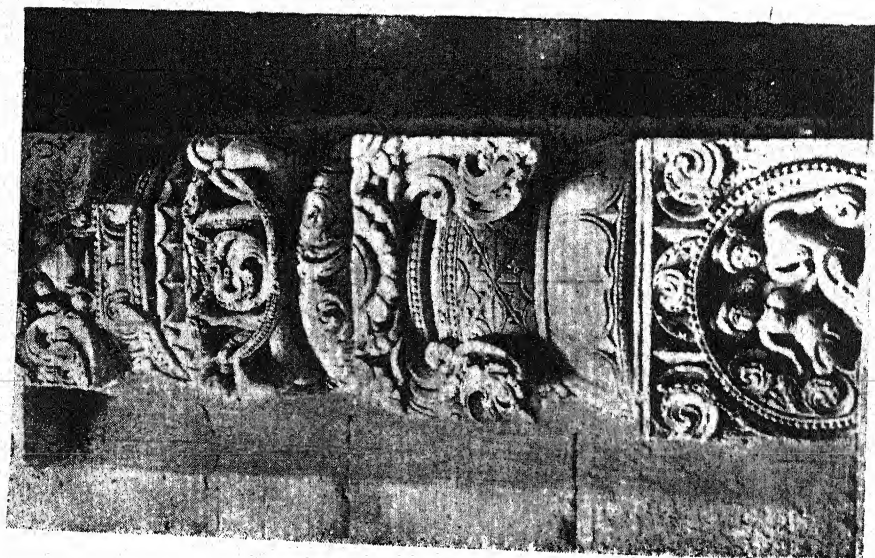


Fig. 2
Carved Pillar, Choti Khatu (Raj.)

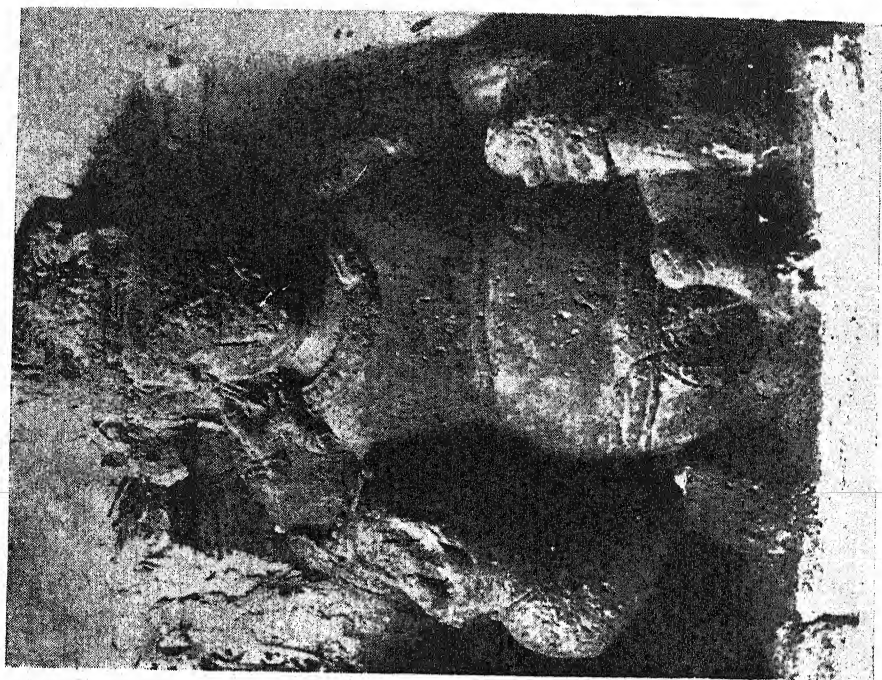


Fig. 4
Kubera, Stone image, Choti Khatu (Raj.)

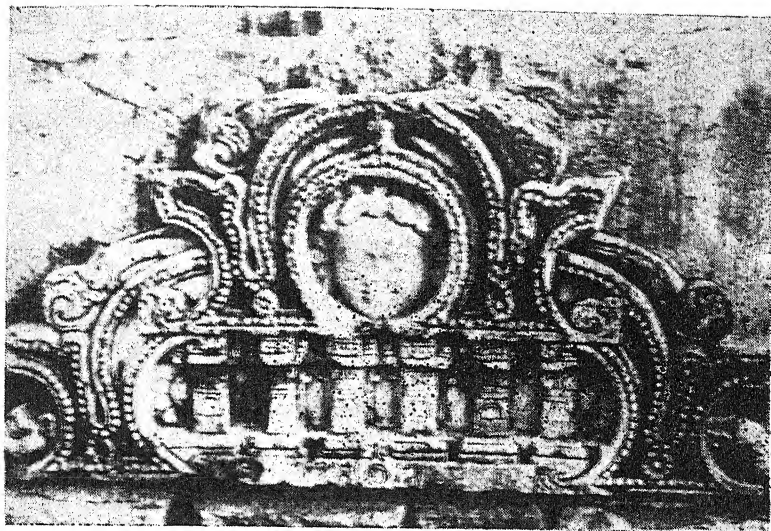


Fig. 3
Human head inside the arch, stone relief from Choti Khatu (Raj.)



Fig. 5
Stone Panel depicting Kubera in the Central niche,
Choti Khatu (Raj.)

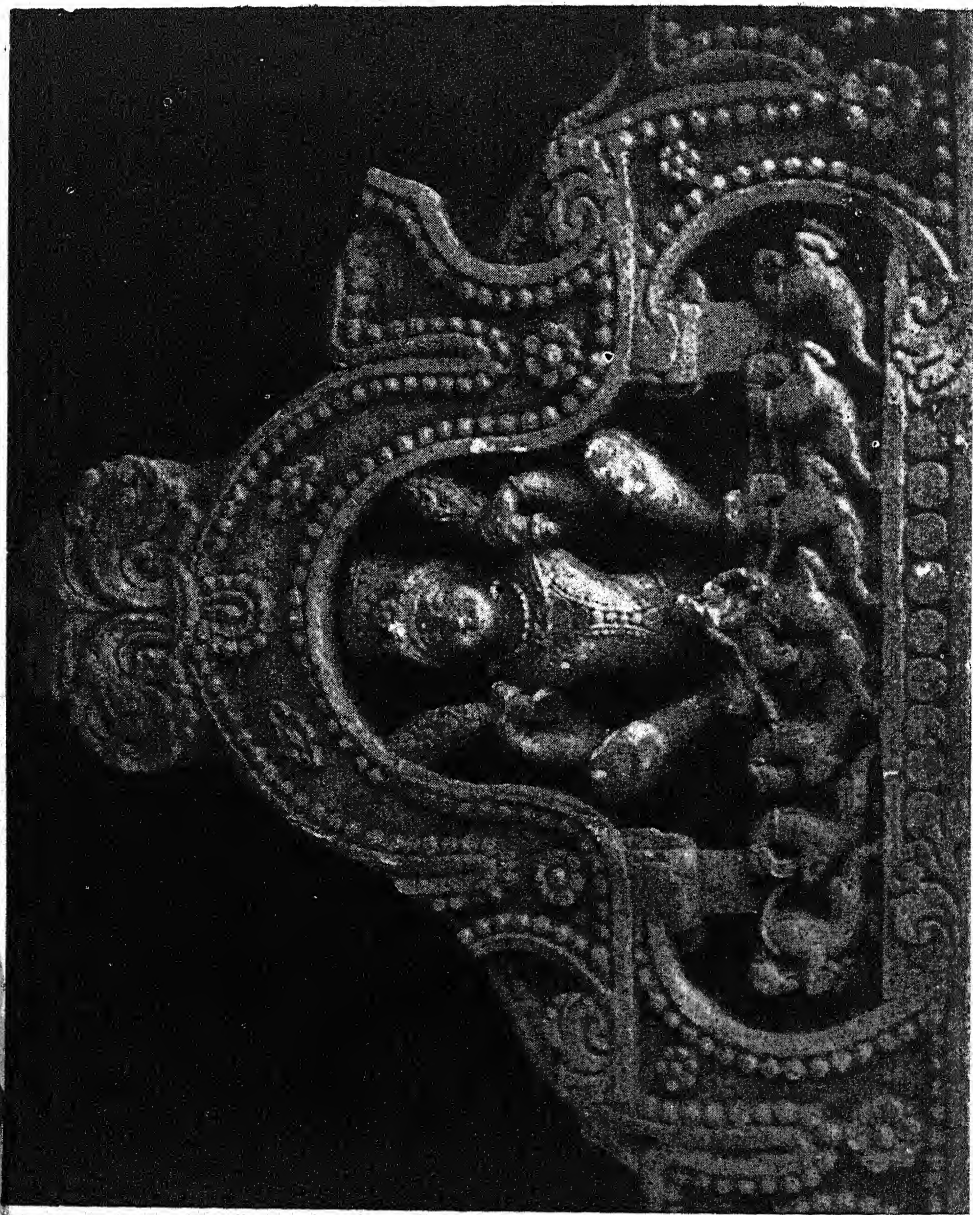


Fig. 6

Shriva inside the arch, stone Panel from Choti Khatu (Raj.)

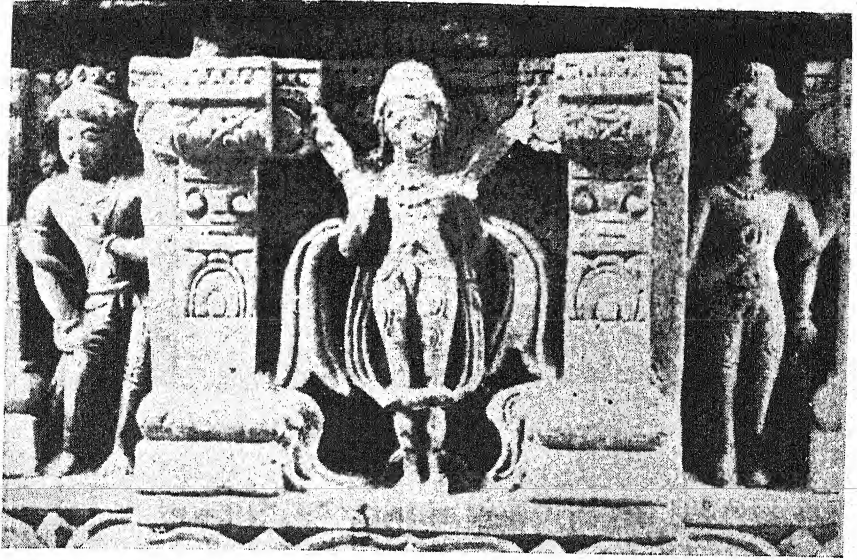


Fig. 7
Stone Panel depicting Sūrya in the Central niche from
Choti Khatu (Raj.)

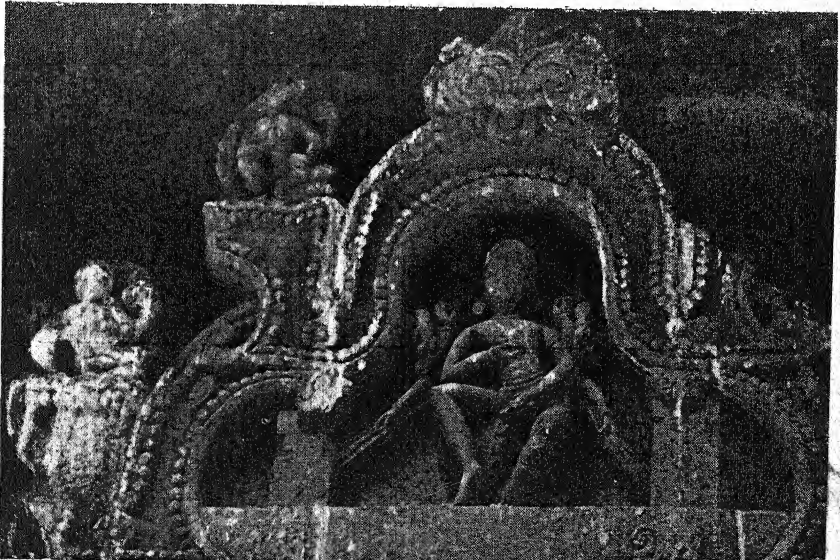


Fig. 8
Dancing Śiva inside the arch stone Panel from Choti Khatu (Raj.)

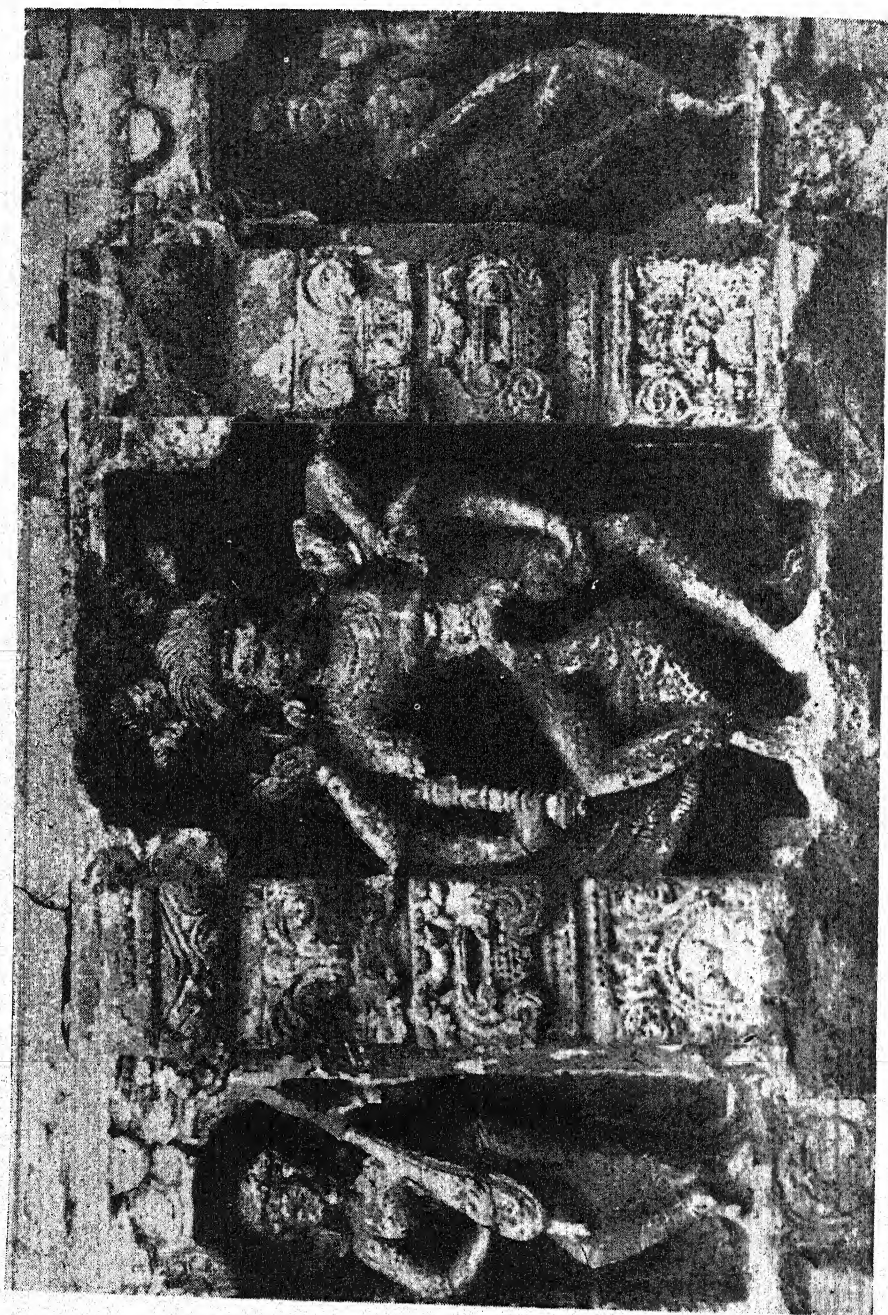


Fig. 9
Rare Panel of Six-headed Skanda, Choti Khatu, Nagaur (Raj.)

similar weapons of Kubera are to be seen in another relief from the same place (Fig. 5); the deity appears in a niche flanked by carved pilasters. The figures of female attendants on side ends have further added to the grace of this panel. These architectural pieces appear to have once decorated the exteriors of contemporary temples.

5. *Sūrya*—The image of Sūrya carved on another panel from Choṭī Khātu (Fig. 6) is extremely delightful. The main deity is seated on a chariot drawn by seven galloping horses; he holds lotus flowers in his raised up hands and wears a low crown on the head, *Kavaca* on the chest and long boots on legs in strict accordance with early art traditions. Floral and dot designs, around the image of Sūrya, are really charming. The relief is quite an impressive piece of Pratihāra art.

Another panel from the same place depicts standing Sūrya (Fig. 7) inside a niche flanked by carved pilasters. On corner ends appear male attendants having slim bodies. Even Sūrya, the main figure has been shown likewise; the anatomical details are worth taking note of; so also the absence of seven horses yoked to the chariot.

6. *Dancing Śiva*—Another panel from Choṭī Khātu (Fig. 8) is all the more interesting. Towards the border of the arch are carved, at intervals, miniature figures of Vaiṣṇavī to left and Vārāhī above; figures on opposite sides are, of course, missing at the present moment. Inside the arch may be seen the figure of dancing eight-armed Śiva who holds the scarf with two of his outstretched hands. Such reliefs are quite rare in Rajasthani sculpture whereas this depiction of *Naṭarāja*, inside an arch, was quite a popular theme in the early plastic art of Orissa. Another fragment of this group from Rajasthan and depicting dancing Śiva has not been published so far.

7. *Six-Headed Skanda*—Of immense iconographic interest is the Skanda relief from Choṭī Khātu itself (Fig. 9). On the corner niches of the rectangular panel have been carved female figures of a dancer and a musician. The central portion, flanked by Pratihāra pilasters, depicts six-headed Skanda Kumāra in dancing pose. Feeding the peacock with his lowest left hand, he is shown with six hands and equal number of heads, the main head being in the centre. The remaining five miniature heads are shown above, thus reminding us of somewhat similar art traditions on the famous copper coins of the Yaudheyas, the post-Gupta Skanda bronze from Chamba and now preserved in the National Museum at New Delhi.¹ The motif of six-headed Skanda Kumāra became very popular in the early mediaeval sculptural art of Himachal Pradesh. The earliest extant

1 R. C. Agrawala's paper in *East and West*, Rome, Vol. 18 (3-4), 1968, pp. 319-22, Fig. 1.
QJ10

stone panel of six headed Skanda has, of course, been reported from Pawāyā², wherein all the six heads of the deity have been carved in a single row; it may be dated towards the 5th Century A D.

The importance of Choṭī Khāṭu relief is enhanced by virtue of its being a rare motif in the realm of Skanda iconography from Rajasthan. The slim body and dancing pose of the deity further add to its charm. The details of the peacock are also elegant. In fact, such a carving of six-headed Skanda has not been reported from any other Pratihāra centre of Rajasthan. The above panels³ from Choṭī Khāṭu are, therefore, a welcome addition to Indian iconography.

² It is of twelve-armed variety.

³ All these photographs have been supplied by the Director, Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, Jaipur.

RELATIONS OF INDIA WITH MIDDLE-EASTERN COUNTRIES DURING THE 16th-17th CENTURIES

By

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From time immemorial, India has had relations with the outside world including the countries of the Near and Middle East, which were, in the beginning, mainly commercial or exploratory. In the early years of Islam, not only no serious effort was made to conquer any country east of Iran, but attempts for political penetration henceforth were positively discouraged. The second Caliph 'Umar was, as is well-known against any such move, and he had, as a matter of fact, called a halt to stray attempts made by his generals or their deputies to establish political authority in the western parts of India. But with the promulgation of a dynamic religion like Islam, the geographical barriers were bound to be broken, and it soon acquired for itself the status of a great political power that swept under its force mighty empires of the east and the west and its followers became masters of the greater part of the then civilised world.

It was but natural that the earlier links which India had with its neighbours in the Near and Middle East would get further strengthened as much with the spread of civilisation as, if not more, with the increasing political consciousness or rather, desire for greater authority and wider sphere of influence. But, before Islam came to India as a political force, or more correctly, its followers came to establish their authority in the sub-continent, the Islamic world had long come to be divided into different political kingdoms, nominally under the suzerainty of the Caliph, but otherwise quite independent of each other, not infrequently quarrelling and fighting each other, at times, one relinquishing the other. Nevertheless, there did run throughout these kingdoms and countries a strong under-current of common ideals and concepts in various fields and walks of life, the consciousness for which grew with the political expansion and permeation of Islamic influence to distant parts of the sub-continent, getting reinforced, one must admit, not less by bonds of kinsmanship too.

It was, therefore, that from the beginning of the second millenium of Christ, India's relations with the countries on its west came to be on the ever increase, in the same way as in the preceding millenium and a half, the country had, for somewhat, though not totally, similar reasons, closer contacts with the countries to its east. But these relations, strictly speaking, were not at all political: they were more in the cultural and social spheres. And though, with the passage of time, politically India became more and more estranged from even its immediate neighbours who occupied the land of origin of the founders of

Islamic rule here, culturally and socially, it continued to maintain contacts with the Middle East countries.

This was due to more than one reason: primarily, Mecca being the religious centre of the world of Islam, its followers, high and low, rich and poor, ruler or ruled, thronged there at an appointed time every year, from every nook and corner of the world. This provided a very convenient and extremely instructive meeting place for men of—to use a modern term—different nationalities, generating in them a curious interest in the land, people, customs, dress, etc., other than their own. In other words, this annual gathering helped to encourage exchange of views and ideas and also directly or indirectly influenced modes and customs of the vast cross-sections of the humanity at large. In so much as this almost obligatory ritual inculcated in the people habit of travelling to distant places, they already knew the lands and the people they passed through by the time they came to the either end of their journey. Then again, the desire for obtaining proficiency in the traditional sciences particularly the *Qur'ān* and the Sunna (*Ḥadīth*), then deemed to be the fountain-head of all human knowledge—which were in Arabic, necessitated visits to the Holy cities of Mecca and Medina in Hijaz and to other centres of Islamic learning in the Arab countries of Yemen, Egypt, Syria etc.¹ An added factor for the coming together of men from different lands was the large-scale migration, more permanent than temporary, of people of different walks of life, under compulsion, due to such factor, for example, as the great political upheaval of the 13th century, in the form of the Mongol Invasion that finally destroyed the Abbasid caliphate and nearly shook the very foundations of Islam.

In short, under these circumstances, India came to develop closer relations with its neighbours in the Near East and these grew in each succeeding century. A cursory study of these relations from the rise of Islam to the nineteenth centuries has no doubt received some attention of Indian scholars, through even in that field, further work is perhaps still possible. But unfortunately for the subsequent period, no attempt has been made to highlight this

1 This was so despite the hazards of travel, not to mention discomforts of journey. The sources contain a number of instances relating to the period under review, of ship wrecks due to tempest or gales, piracy, etc. on sea, and robbers, thieves, etc., on road. For example, two ships belonging to Ulugh Khān carrying among others his Chief of Drinks and famous Arabic poets and learned men Shaikh Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aflāḥ, and Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad an-Nākhūdā and al-Faqīh Muḥammad a'z-zabīdī ran into rough weather, causing one ship and few of its occupants to sink in A.H. 975. A ship which included along with its passengers ten Bā 'Alawī Sayyids sank in the Gulf of Cambay in A.H. 975. A ship called al-'Aidarūsī belonging to saint Shaikh al-'Aidarūs of Aḥmadabad was lost on its journey from Shihr to Div in A.H. 981. ('Abdu'l-Qādir al-'Aidarūs, *a'n-Nūru's-Sāfir li-Ahlil-Qarni'l-'Ashir*, Baghdad, 1934, pp. 286, 351; Ḥājī Dabir, *Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ bi-Muzaffar wa-'Ālih*, Vol. II, London, 1921, p. 496; etc.).

extremely interesting aspect of India's history, a study of which would provide proper historical perspective for a correct appraisal of different forces that have shaped the country's history during the greater part of the past millenium, particularly in its middle part. An attempt was made by me to deal with the subject in a paper 'India and the Near East during 13th-15th centuries', *Mal'ik Ram Felicitation Volume* (Delhi, 1972), pp. 209-27, where a resume of work done in this regard is also given.¹

As was then pointed out by me, this interesting aspect of India's past still awaits diligent and painstaking exploration, and its study by competent scholars and researchers, for which sufficient material exists. As a matter of fact, contrary to the usual phenomenon faced by researchers, it is not the paucity of material that is a handicap here but rather the fact that the material is mostly in Arabic and that too in works almost exclusively written in foreign countries, like Egypt, Hijaz, Syria, etc. Secondly, not only has a fraction of the material been set to print, but even printed books, let alone manuscripts containing information on the subject—mainly *Rijāl* (Biography) and *Rihla* (Travel) literature—are not easily available even in the best libraries of India.

But even a cursory perusal of whatever little is available contains sufficient information on different facets of India's life—contribution of a section of its inhabitants to the world-fraternity of the time and the role of the foreigners on the Indian scene. These relations seem to have been at their maximum level during the 16th and 17th centuries, which coincided with the proliferation of political power in India, to wit, further breaking up of the Bahamanī empire into five kingdoms of Deccan, and weakening of the once powerful kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa. In the earlier period, the influx of foreign element into the Indian mainstream is more prominently found in the northern region because of its being the centre of political power and authority under the Delhi Sultanate; the scene somewhat shifted to the Deccan after the emergence of the independent sovereignty in Deccan under the Bahamanīs. These foreign elements were mostly either from regions contained in the Central Asian or Iranian kingdoms in the case of the north or Iran proper in the case of the south. But the period under

1 After that article was actually written, a few more works have appeared mostly in Urdu which mainly deal with the earlier periods: these are (1) '*Arab wa Hind 'Ahd-i-Risālat main; Hindustān main 'Arabon ki Hukumatain; and Rijālu's-Sind wa'l-Hind* (upto the seventh century A.H.), by Qādī 'Abu'l-Ma'ālī Athar Mubārakpūrī, (2) *Islāmī Dunyā Dasivīn Sadi 'Isawī main; Tārikh -i-Hind par Na'i Raushanī* (being the Urdu translation of Fadlu'llāh al-'Umari's *Masāliku'l-Abshār*); '*Arabī Literature main Qādīm Hindustān* by Dr. Khurshid Ahmad Fāriq; (3) *Hindustān 'Arabon ki Nazar main* by Maulavī Diyāu'd-Dīn Islāhī (Azamgarh); (4) *A Fourteenth Century Account of India under Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, being the English translation of the al-'Umari'. work referred to above, by Prof. Iqtidār Husain Siddiqī and Qādī Maḥammad Ahmad.

review saw an influx of men from Arab countries in much greater numbers than before, who played active part, apart from cultural affairs, in the political field as well. This perhaps due to the highly explosive political condition prevailing in the countries of the Near or Middle East, then ruled through his governor in Egypt, by the powerful and ambitious Sultans of Turkey, then the foremost military and naval power which harboured designs of establishing its sovereignty over Iran and India as well.¹ The Turks, however, met a stiff opposition in some of the European nations and were particularly contained by the Portuguese, whose Captains were busy looking about for control over trade-centres on the coasts of Arabia and the Persian Gulf in order to put an end to the Turkish monopoly of the lucrative overland trade with the East which was a great source of profit to the Ottomon empire.² That this clash, itself an important chapter in the history of the Middle East, had extended right on the coast-line of the Indian kingdoms of Gujarat, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur is a well-known fact of history.

In short, due to these various factors, there was, during this period, between India and the Arabic speaking countries meaningful exchange of ideas as well as of men, an attempt to touch a few aspects of which is made here in the hope—which, it is hoped, will not turn out to be in vain—that apart from stimulating further research in this field, it will help proper evaluation of the interplay of forces, not only in the political but also in cultural and even sociological fields, that shaped the history of the country, particularly to the south of the Vindhya. It must be confessed here that this attempt may perhaps be found to be cursory, for which my only apology would be not the dearth of material or efforts spared to explore these, but the non-availability of the same in India which can be attributed in no other way than antipathy to the study of Arabic language and literature.³

1 See for example, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during the Years 1553-1556*, translated into English by A. Vambery (London, 1899), p. III.

2 A well-documented account of the struggle during the period under review will be found in M. Longworth Dames, 'The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1921, pp. 1-28, and Sir Denison Ross 'The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507 and 1517', *ibid.*, pp. 545-62; *ibid.*, pp. 1-18.

3 Mention must be made here to a valuable contribution in this field by a modern Indian scholar, the late 'Allāma 'Abdu'l-Hayy, former Director of the Nadwatul-'Ulamā, Lucknow, to wit, *Nuzhatul-Khawātir wa Bahjatul-Masāmi' wa'n-Nawāzīr* (NK) in Arabic containing biographies of eminent Indians from the earliest times to the present day which has been fortunately published in eight volumes by the *Dāiratul-Ma'ārifil-Uthmāniyya*, Hyderabad, between 1947 and 1970. While it is an extremely useful work, the learned 'Allāma had no access to manuscript works on the subjects and also to some of the printed works.

For, the works of Arabic savants contain veritably a vast mine of information of diverse nature about affairs in India, the role of Indians in the Arabic-speaking countries and of non-Indians in India. The account unfolded in their works is an abiding testimony to the interest, not merely academic but active also, evinced by these masters in the multifarious activities of a far-off country. This was facilitated, as stated above, primarily due to the Annual Pilgrimage (*al-Hajja*) to the Holy House at Mecca and Visit (*az-Ziyārat*) to the Prophet of Islam's Tomb at Medina, in the course of which thousands of believers converging from far-off places all over the world provided direct contacts and exchanged information of sort; not only that, even different ethnic or regional groups from one country, would thus have an annual meeting with one another in the course of this journey, which was, it may be remembered, undertaken at an appointed part of the year. Apart from this, the proverbial Arab's thirst for knowledge and his spirit of adventure prompted somewhat by innocent curiosity as also by reasons of oversea trade and commerce—they were, it may be remembered, acknowledged carrier of goods, and also knowledge from the East and Far East to the countries of the West—were also responsible for having left to posterity, through their writings or those communicated to savants and scholars, important accounts of these visits and contacts that have now become the main source of information on the subject.

These accounts may perhaps be found to be limited in scope, having been prompted by particular points of view or vocations of the respective writers or communicators. Nevertheless, containing as they do interesting and, not unfrequently, refreshingly new information about men and matters of India, these particulars are quite useful for the social, cultural, and to some extent, even political history of India.

Taking the political field first, it may be recalled that it was through almost contemporary Arabic sources that new and corroborating facts about the history of the late fourteenth-century Ilyās Shāhī rulers of Bengal and their fifteenth century successors, more particularly of the House of Raja Kāns (or Ganesh as some modern Indian historians term him) had come to light.¹ There is also to be found in some of these sources similar information on the political history of the various dynasties of India, including those of the Bahamanīs of Deccan, Malwa and Gujarat.² For the period under notice too, these works contain quite a good deal of information on the history of India, Yaman, Mecca, Egypt, Turkey and other Islamic countries. The works of 'Abdu'l-Qādi al-'Aidārūs

1 These have been presented by me in the paper 'Some New Data regarding the Pre Mughal Muslim Rulers of Bengal', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXXII (1958), pp. 195-207.

2 This was summarised in another article contributed to the Malik Ram Felicitation Volume, referred to above.

(who was the son of a 16th century Ḥadramī or South Arabian emigree),¹ Abū Bakr a' sh-Shillī² and his son Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad a' sh-Shillī al-Ḥadramī,³ Najmu'd-Dīn al-Ghazzī⁴ Ḥājī a'd-Dabī a'd-Dabīr,⁵ Muḥamad ibn Fadlu'llāh al-Muḥibbī,⁶ Shaikh al- 'Aidarūs,⁷ a' sh-Shaukānī,⁸ 'Alī Ibn Ma' sūm⁹ and the like.¹⁰

Of these, the *an-Nūsu's-Sāfir* of al- 'Aidarūs dealing with the biographies of persons and events of the 16th century, most of whom were the author's contemporaries contains much interesting information on the political history as well, of Gujarat and some principalities of Deccan, particularly Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, which has been earlier published.¹¹ A few topics dealt with in this work may be briefly mentioned : Death of Amīr Salmān, the Turkish admiral, arrival of Mustafā, son of Bahrām and nephew of Amīr Salmān to India and his subsequent career; Mughal emperor Humāyūn's attack on and conquest of Gujarat; Akbar's conquest of Gujarat; Murder of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh; Death of Qutb Shāh of Golconda (described as a staunch Shiite); Mughal attack on Ahmadnagar; Deposition and death of Murtadā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar; Decline of the Mahdawī faction in Ahmadnagar; Recapture of Danda-Rajpuri on the Konkan coast;¹¹ etc.

From the works of a 'sh-Shillī¹² al-Muḥibbī and Ḥājī Dabīr, we know about the Yamanī or South Arabian immigrants to India, who were brought

1 *a'n-Nūru's-Sāfir li-Ahlī'l-'Qarnī'l-'Āshir* (NS) (Baghdad, 1934).

2 *Wafayātu'l-A'yān min Ahlī'z-Zamān*.

3 (1) *Nafā'isu'd-Durar fi Ashrāfī'l-Qarnī'l-Ḥādī-'Ashar* and (2) *a'dh-Dhail 'Ala'n-Nurī's-Sāfir*, (3) *al-Mashra'u-Rawī fi Dhikr-i-Sādāt-i-Bā-'Alawī* (Cairo), (4) *'Aqdu'l-Jawāhir wa'd-Durar fi Akhbārī'l-Qarnī'l-Ḥādī-'Ashar*.

4 *Qaṣṣu'th-Thamar wa Lufṭi's-Samar fi A'yānī'l-Qarnī'l-Ḥādī-'Ashar*.

5 *Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ bi-Muzaffar wa-Aliḥ*, (HD), 3 Volumes (London, between 1921 and 1928).

✓ 6 *Khulāsatu'l-Āthār fi A'yānī'l-Qarnī'l-Ḥādī-'Ashar* (KA), 4 volumes (Cairo, A.H. 1284).

7 *a'dh-Dhail 'Ala'l-Mashra'i 'r-Rawī*.

8 *al-Badru't-Tālī li-Maḥāsini min-ba'd'it-Qarnī's-Sābi* (Cairo, A.H. 1348).

9 *Suṣṣatu'l-Asr fi Maḥāsini-Shu'rā bi-Kullī Misr* (SA), Egypt, A.H. 1324.

These are quite a few more works dealing with men in particular field, e.g. theologians, etc. which should contain useful information. An extensive search will bring to light many more works not only in Arabic but probably in Turkish also.

10 It is a pity that except for the *A'n-Nūru's-Sāfir*, *Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ* and the *Khulāsatu'l-Āthār*, no other—not even the printed works were available.

11 An article by me describing the importance of this work as source of Gujarat history was published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, M. S. University, Baroda, Vol. XV (1966), pp. 464-74.

12 Now in the Kolaba district of Maharashtra over-looking the Janjira island-fort.

13 Unfortunately, none of the works of Shillī, who had visited India and stayed in Deccan for quite some time, including the printed volumes of *al-Mashra'* was available at the time of writing this article.

here as slaves and rose, after receiving instruction in learning and training in various arts including those of warfare, to occupy important positions in the State.¹ These as well as the Turkish settlers in Gujarat, called by Ḥājī Dabīr as Salmānī Group or *al-Jamā'atu's-Salmāniyya* who came as free-men or slaves played no insignificant role in the history of the respective kingdoms where they served. As a matter of fact, these narratives portray vividly the part played by these settlers in the civil strife in the declining years of the Gujarat Sultanate and the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar.

The accounts of these immigrants are particularly important for providing an insight into the composition of the present ethnic groups of the local population in this part of the country and the pattern of their professions, which in a way does not seem to have much changed down to the present day. These have mainly their origin in these foreign nobles and mercenary captains, who were in the main Abyssinian slaves—originally prisoners or descendants of prisoners captured during the Muslim invasion of Abyssinia in 1527, brought en block to India by Mustafā ibn Bahrām, to help the Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat against the Portuguese under orders of the Ottomon Sultān.² Bahādur Shāh is stated to have had a natural liking for the foreigners in whom he had full reliance; he had a poor opinion of the fighting qualities of the Indians.³ As many as 10,000 foreign mercenaries, who were mostly Arabs like Yāfi' and Mahara,⁵ Abyssinians and Turks, served under his banner. At one time in A.H. 955, only the famous port of Div,⁶ which later on passed on to the Portuguese and remained in their possession until after India's Independence, had 6,000 foreign infantry. His Prime Minister 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Āsaf Khān, who was sent to the Holy Cities by him, at the time of Humāyūn's conquest of Gujarat, along with his Seraglio and hundreds of chest of Royal Treasures, had

1 Once in India, they by their inherent capacity and acquired training attained positions of authority and were in turn responsible for inviting their fellow-countrymen, kinsmen and other, belonging to different walks of life. It is for this reason in particular that during this period, we have foreigners, whether in Gujarat or in Deccan, mostly from Yemen and the neighbouring regions of Southern Arabia, particularly Ḥadramaut.

2 The presence of Abyssinian and Turks in Gujarat and Deccan dates from early times, but 16th century saw a great spurt in the immigration.

3 *HD*, Vol. I (London, 1928), p. 229.

4 They were members of a powerful tribe in Ḥadramaut. Cf. Sir E. Denison Ross' note: 'The irregular troops in the Nizam of Hyderabad known by this name are evidently descendants of these men' (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. XXVI, f.n. 2).

5 These are stated to be probably mounted troops from Southern Arabia (*ibid.*, f.n. 1). Incidentally, the famous Malik 'Ambar belonged to this clan. Mahara is the name of region to the east of Ḥadramaut in South Arabia.

6 Div., in the time of Maḥmūd Shāh I (A.H. 863-916) was a naval base with 200 battle-ships to guard the Gujarat coast under Malik Aiyāz (*ibid.*, pp. 116-17).
OJ11

on his return from Mecca in A.H. 955, some time after the Sultān's death, formed a palace-guard of 12,000 of the foreign legions for the new Gujarat Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh III—from among the Maharas, Yāfi'is, Turks, Abyssinians, Javanese and even Portuguese.¹ Apart from the royal army, the contingent of the nobles used to have a sizeable number : Muḥarrām Rūmī Khān, Lord of Div, had in A.H. 953, a large numbers of Maharas on his rolls,² and Ibrāhīm Rustam Khān, in A.H. 980, had 300 Turkish knights. At the time of Gujarat's conquest by Akbar, the royal contingent had, out of a total of 12,000 troops, as against 5,000 local people, 700 Abyssinian cavaliers, 300 Turks, 400 Bahlīms, 600 Ghorīs, 500 Mughals, 500 Bukhārī Sayyids and 4000 Afghāns.

Incidentally, the Turks were masters of the art of Artillery and Musketry. In this field their contribution is very great. During the period of the decline of the Gujarat and Sultanate, there were 500 brass guns, 6000 *Kaukabān* and 12,000 muskets in the Gujarat army.³ The most celebrated commanders of artillery were the Salmānī Turks Mustafā Rūmī Khān, Khwāja Safar Khudāwand Khān and Qarā Ḥasan Jahāngīr Khān. Muḥammad Khān Rūmī and Aḥmad bin 'Alī Rūmī whose names figure among the gunners of emperor Humāyūn seem to have defected to the Mughal emperor along with Mustafā Rūmī Khān.⁴

A few of the prominent foreigners who held such high posts like the charge of the Royal Guards, governorship or some such assignment in Gujarat only—their list runs into scores if not hundreds—may be mentioned ; among the Abyssinians including Maharas : Nāsir Ḥabash Khān, Mandal Ulugh Khān, Yāqūt Bahr Khān Amḥarī, Bilāl Muḥsinu'l-Mulk and his successor in the title Jauhar, Firūz Khawāssu'l-Mulk,⁵ Farahān Maḥalsār Khān, Hilāl Rūmī Khānī, Bilāl Jhujhār Khān, Daryā Khān Nāsiru 'l-Mulk, Raiḥān Jahāngīr Khān, Yāqūt Ulugh Khān, and his son Muḥammad Ulugh Khān, Marjān Jhujhār Khān, Jahān Khān, 'Abdu'llāh the Nubian, Sandal Ghālīb Khān, Raiḥān Bijlī Khān, Shaikh Sa'id Sultānī, 'Ambar 'Abdu'n-Nabī (Major domo and ship's Captain to Ulugh Khān), Utlū Khān Qādir Shāhī, Utlū Khān Ruknu'd-Daula and the like. Some of the Turkish nobles who held high posts in Gujarat were : Āqā Alāchīn, Āqā Ḥasan Chirkis, Āqā Ismā'il Chirkis, Asad Khān, Āqā Farahshād Faṭḥ Jang Khān, Amīr Marjān Istambulī, Amīr Marjān Shāmī, Āqā Mustafā,

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 290.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 278; Vol. II, p. 391.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 568.

4 Two of the guns cast by Ahmad are still to be seen in the Indore Museum. They were manufactured in A.H. 948 in the time of Sher Shāh (*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1966-67, Nos. 85, 90), which means that he had thrown his lot with Sher Shāh after Humāyūn's defeat.

5 He was personally incharge of the Royal Seraglio of Bahādur Shāh at Mecca (*HD*, Vol. I, p. 388; Vol. II, p. 627).

Qāsim, Āqā Sha'bān Chalapī, Āqā Jān¹, Safar Khudāwand Khān² and his sons Rajab and Muḥarrām, 'Imādu'l-Mulk Aslān and his son Chingīz Khān, Cārā Ḥasan Jahāngīr Khān, Muḥammad Kākā Jauhar Salmanī, and the like. Among the Yāfi 'īs, Hadramīs and others we get the names of Sayyid 'Abdur-Raḥmān Bā-'Aqīl al-Badawī, Taqīu'd-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Ḥadramī, Jalāl bin Tarāz al-Yāfi 'ī, Malik Tāhir al-Yafī 'ī and his son, etc.

The kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Khandesh,³ had also a sizeable number of the Abyssinian, Turkish and other foreign elements in their establishments. Thus, the Nizām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar had Jahāngīr Khān Ḥabashī who was Lord of Kheṭlā, Jamāl Khān, Suhail Khān, Yāqūt Khudāwand Khān, Ismā'il Chirkis Asad Khān,⁴ Fārhād Khān whose contingent included such names as Dilāwar Khān, Shamshīr Khān, Ḥabash Khān, Abhang Khān, and Mas'ūd Khān, Salābat Khān, Malik 'Ambar, Amīr Jawhar,⁵ Bahzādu'l Mulk and the like. Among the Bijapur nobles and officials of this ilk, we have Dilāwar Khān, Ikhlās Khān, the Senior and the Junior and others, while the Khandesh contingent of the Fārūqīs had among others: Sandal Faulād Khān⁶ and his son 'Abdu'l-Karīm Faulād Khān,⁷ Raiḥān Ḥabashu' l-Mulk, Ikhtiyār Khān Rūmī, Jhujār Khān and the like.

As stated earlier, most of these persons who were initially purchased as 'slaves', received a thorough training in arms as well as in letters and had every opportunity afforded to them to aspire for and obtain higher status in life. A line or two on the way as to how they were educated may not be out of place here: it is said of Jauhar Khān Nizām Shāhī, minister and official, that after being brought to India, along with his brother, when they were yet in their childhood, he was purchased by Burhān Nizām Shāh who then entrusted him to an instructor to learn the *Qur'ān*, which he did and learnt it by heart too, and also learnt by heart other books. He was then required to learn horsemanship,

1 Most of these had received normal education and quite a few of them like Sandal Ghālib Khān, Shaikh Sa'id (Sultānī, builder of the world-famous Sīdī Sa'id's mosque at Ahmedabad) were well-versed in different branches of knowledge. Hājī Dabir (*ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 528, 541) also mentions a cultured and educated lady 'Ambar Nasīm.

2 He was a merchant at Cambay and was a poet as well. His panegyrics composed in praise of Chingīz Khān, the foremost Gujarat nobleman at one time, are stated to have been in the style of those of the celebrated Persian poet Salmān of Sawa (*ibid.*, p. 516).

3 It may be pointed out that in our sources, we come across very few Abyssinians or people from Southern Arabia in the officials or armed forces of Golconda.

4 It may be pointed out that not infrequently for some reason or the other, some of these officials and nobles migrated even more than once, to other kingdoms. Asad Khān had migrated from Gujarat to become the minister and lieutenant of Murtadā Nizāma Shāh of Ahmadnagar.

5 He subsequently had to migrate to Bijapur.

6 He was a freed slave of Maliku't-Tujjār, a big merchant of Cambay.

7 He was one of the patrons of Hājī Dabir (*HD*, Vol. II, pp. 649, 949).

swordsmanship, lance-throwing and archery and acquired proficiency in all these. After his appointment as chief of 200 cavaliers, he continued to pursue the vocation of learning under masters and reading books and keeping company with savants and divines, and had also donned the *Khirqā* (Emblem of spiritual discipleship or successorship) from the celebrated Ḥadramī saint domiciled in India, Shaikh al-ʿAidarūs (died in A.H. 990 in Ahmadabad). The great savant Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad a'sh-Shillī of Ḥadramaut, the author of *al-Mashraʿu'r-Rawī* and other books referred to above, had stayed with him when he came to India for a short visit—Jauhar had read with him books on Theology, Grammar and Tradition, and was a voracious reader—he liked to read books on different subjects including history.¹ That this must have been the norm of the day and true—albeit in varying degrees—of similar captives and slaves could not only be easily surmised from the fact, referred to above, that scores of slaves rose to occupy higher positions, but is specifically mentioned by the same foreign chronicler, al-Muḥibbī. This biographer, while referring to the celebrated Niẓām Shāhī general and minister Malik 'Ambar's policy of acquiring a large number of Abyssinian slaves,² says that after a slave was purchased, he was left first in charge of instructors who would teach him reading the *Qur'ān* and writing, and after that, of those who would train him in horsemanship, swordplay, playing on lute, archery, etc., till he would be an expert in the art of warfare, strategy and strategem, and once he finished the training, he was encouraged to strive for superiority over his mates and attain a deserving position; these people were particular about offering prayers in congregation and other matters of religion, some engaging themselves in studying in company the *Qur'an*, some keeping vigils on Friday and Monday nights, and the chief of the group would host a sumptuous fare. In short, al-Muḥibbī says, even though these were Abyssinian slaves, 'the Arabs had no superiority over them except perhaps in descent'.³

Then again, these immigrants were themselves great patrons of men of arts and letters and divines. To them flocked their kinsmen and countrymen from South Arabian region of Ḥadramaut and Yaman, some of the new-comers in their turn playing host to other fellow residents.⁴ A Gujarat nobleman Raiḥān

1 *KA*, Vol. I, p. 697.

2 The number purchased by him is said to have been in the neighbourhood of 2,000. This inevitably led to the slave-traders raising their prices, according to Muḥibbī (*ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 231 ff.).

3 *KA*, Vol. III, p. 231. This last saying is borrowed from an earlier author (cf. *HD*, Vol. I, p. 97).

4 Shaikh Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿAmūdī is described as one at whose place gathered the 'Arabs and men of literature. Likewise, the 'Aidarūs savants at Bijapur, Daulatabad, etc. were 'resort of the visitors of India'.

Bijli Khān, originally an Abyssinian slave, killed in A.H. 979, would recruit Abyssinian men versed in the art of warfare at any cost, was fond of the company of learned men, particularly the Arabs, whom he invited with lavish presents and would spend large sums in sending for masters of instruments and experts in music whether in Yemen or Hijaz. He had also great liking for and faith in Shaikhs and Sayyid divines of Tarim in Ḥadramaut, who, on their arrival, would be assigned by him to his retainers and subordinates who were expected to look after their comfortable stay or journey, and those of them as would like to return to their native country would be provided with means of journey and provisions. The court of the celebrated Malik 'Ambar and his son Faṭh Khān were also the resort of savants and divines, particularly those from Ḥadramaut, the prominent among them being Shaikh Ja'far al-'Aidarūs¹ Shaikh 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh Bā Shībān, Sayyid Ḥaddād al-'Alawī, Zain ibn 'Abdu'llāh Jummalu'l-Lail, Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr a 'sh-Shillī (brother of the historian a 'sh-Shillī), Shaikh ibn 'Abdullāh al-'Aidarūs², Shaikh Abū Bakr ibn Ḥusain al-'Aidarūs, and the like.³ The court of Rajab Khudāwand Khān at Surat (d. A.H. 968) attracted savants, saints and litterateurs from different countries, prominent among whom were Shaikh Abū Sa'ādāt al-Fākihī al-Makkī al-Ḥanbalī a great scholar and Arabic poet (A.H. 992),⁴ Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Mu'ṭī Bā-Kathīr al-Makkī al-Ḥadramī, a great Traditionist and Arabic poet (d. A.H. 989), Khatīb Abū Sa'ādāt ibn Zahīra, 'Abdu'llāh al-'Irāqī, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Abdu'l-Latīf al-Jāmī al-Makkī called Makhdūmzāda, an Arabic poet (c. A.H. 997) and Abdu'l-Latīf ibn Muḥammad Saljūqī al-Madanī.⁵ Among other nobles who were patrons of learning and learned men are Shaikh Sa'īd al-Ḥabashī a 's-Sultānī, Muḥammad Ulugh Khān and the like.

An important centre of Arabic literature in the second half of the 17th century was Hyderabad, where the court of 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh had attracted a large number of foreign litterateurs. These were mainly men of letters, mostly poets, who were attracted or invited by the Sultān's son-in-law and minister Sayyid Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad a'd-Dastakī a'sh-Shirāzī, himself a poet of Arabic of no mean order and a great patron. His son 'Alī Ibn Ma'sūm who also came to Hyderabad and was likewise a writer and poet in that language, has in his

1 He had translated into Persian his father's work *al-'Iqdu'n-Nabawī*.

2 He died in A.H. 1041 and was buried near the tomb of Malik 'Ambar at Khuldabad (Rauda) near Daulatabad. For his epitaph, see Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāqī'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpur*, Pt. III (Agra, 1915), p. 208, where due to wrong reading of the epitaph, his name is given as Ḥabīb Shaikh.

3 *KA*, Vol. I, pp. 16, 82, 482; Vol. II, pp. 186, 236; Vol. III, p. 215, etc.

4 'None from among the Arabs or men of high descent who arrived at Surat missed his hospitality and favour' (*NS*, p. 408).

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 271, etc.

work *Sulāfatul-Asr* referred to above, given an account of these poets, some of whom are : Shaikh Aḥmad al-Juhārī al-Makkī, Shaikh Jamālu'd-Dīn al-Musawī a'd-Damishqī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-'Āmulī a'sh-Shāmī, Yāḥyā ibn Aḥmad a'l-Dastakī ('Alī Ibn Ma'sūm's brother), Sayyid 'Imādu'd-Dīn al-Barakāt, Shaikh Muḥammad al-Makkī, Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Makkī, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Madanī, 'Allāma Muḥammad ibn 'Alī a'sh-Shāmī al-'Āmulī, Ḥusain ibn Shihābu'd-Dīn a'sh-Shāmī al-'Āmulī, Shaikh 'Alī ibn Hasan al-Marzūqī al-Yamanī, Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh Muḥammad al-Behrani, etc. Among the learned men at the same court we come across the names of such masters as Shaikh Aḥmad ibn Ridām Qādī Aḥmad ibn Salāma a'l-Jazā'irī and Shaikh Ja'far al-Bāhranī.¹

This patronage was, however, not limited to these foreign fraternity of noblemen and officials. The kings and chiefs also are reported to have extended hearty welcome to and entertained lavishly reputed masters in learning particularly in the sciences of Tradition and Jurisprudence. They bestowed munificent grants and stipends upon them, at times, even admitting them into matrimonial alliance in the family, so much so that with the money thus received, they built palatial houses and gardens in their native places where they would retire and live in comfort some day, and not infrequently again repair to India after some time.²

The court of Sultān Maḥmūd I of Gujarat was packed with scholars from Arabia and other Islamic countries, prominent among whom were Traditionists from Arabian countries. Foremost among these is an Egyptian savant 'Allāma Maḥammad al-Mālikī, known as Ibn Suwaid, a great Traditionist, who had received from the Sultan, of Gujarat the title of Maliku'l-Muḥaddithīn, i.e. Prince among Traditionists.³ Another great savant, Qādī Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥadramī popularly known as Baḥraq, was a Grammarian, Linguist, Lexicographer, Litterateur, Traditionist, Mystic, Astronomer, Mathematician, in short a versatile scholar, who enjoyed great favours from Maḥmūd's successor Muzaffar Shāh II. Another great Traditionist, Shaikh Abu' l-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Makkī, known as Ibn Fahd, had been well received by the same Sultān and after the latter's death by the Sultān of Malwa, where he had migrated and died in A H. 925 at Mandu at the age of 80. At the court of the 'Ādil Shāhī kings Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad also gathered quite a few such savants.⁴

1 *SA*, pp. 10, 11, 31, 32, 36, 158, 192, 249, 250, 310, 323, 468, etc. Further details will be found in Prof. Dr. 'Abdu'l-Mo'id Khān, *Arabic Poets of Golconda* (Bombay).

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 249; *KA*, Vol. II, pp. 236, 263, etc.

3 He used to send presents and alms money to the Holy Cities. He is also stated to have adopted a son after the custom of India (*NS*, p. 103).

4 *KA*, Vol. I, p. 83, 697, Vol. II, p. 236, Vol. III, pp. 39, 40, 51. Incidentally, al-Muḥibbi (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 83 and Vol. III, p. 51), calls the latter Maḥmūd.

Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān is on record to have patronised Shaikh Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad al-‘Aidarūs who died in A.H. 1048 at Daulatabad.¹ A few of other such savants are Shaikh ‘Abdu’r-Raḥman Jummalu’l-Lail, ‘Abdu’r-Raḥmān ibn ‘Āqil al-Yamanī, ‘Abdu’ llāh ibn Ḥusain Bā-Faqīh, ‘Umar ibn ‘Aqīl Ḥasan ibn Shadqam al-Madanī, Abū Tālib ibn Aḥmad al- Ḥabashī of Marīma² and the like.

The list of other learned savants and saints who came to and settled in India,³ drawn by the munificent patronage of the rulers, ministers and noblemen of its different kingdoms is virtually very large and cannot be detailed for want of space, but we cannot resist the temptation of mentioning some of them. Settled in Gujarat were : ‘Alī a ‘d-Daiba’ a’sh-Shaibānī, Muḥammad ibn Afdal al- Makkī, the Jurist, Poet and Litterateur, Muḥammad a’z- Zabīdī, the Jurist and Poet, ‘Abdu’llāh ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥadramī, a Jurist, ‘Allāma Shihābu’d-Dīn al- ‘Abbāsī al-Misrī, an Astronomer and Mathematician, Shaikh Aḥmad al-Buskarī, a Scholar and Poet, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Bā-Jābir, a Jurist, Shaikh Jamālu’ d-Dīn Muḥammad āl-Hashībārī, a divine, Ḥāfiẓ Nūru’d-Dīn Abū’l-Futūḥ a’t- Tā’ūsī, Shaikh ‘Allāma Ḥusain al-Baghdādī, Shaikh ibn ‘Abdullāh al-‘Aidarūs, the founder of the House of ‘Aidarūs in India, a great saint and prolific writer and poet of Arabic, and various members of his family, ‘Allāma Jamālu’ d-Dīn Muḥammad al- ‘Amūdī, Shaikh Shihābu’d-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Bā-Jābir al-Ḥadramī, Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdu’l-Ḥaqq al-Misrī and the like.

There was a similar influx of foreign scholars, saints, adventurers and slave-statesmen and officials in the neighbouring kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Golconda, etc., and also all over India, in varying degrees. To Ahmadnagar and its dependencies, under the Nizām Shāhīs, had come ‘Abdu’llāh ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥadramī, Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad al- ‘Aidarūs, Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr Bā-Faqīh al- ‘Aidarūs and Sayyid Ḥasan bin ‘Alī al-Madanī.⁴ At Bijapur or its dependencies were ‘Abdullāh ibn Ḥusain Bā-Faqīh, Abū Bakr ibn Ḥusain Bā-Faqīh al-Ḥadramī, Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar al-Ḥadramī, ‘Abdullāh ibn Zain al-Ḥadramī, Shaikh ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdu’llāh Bā-Shībān and ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī Bā-‘Alawī. Among those who had settled down or died in different places of India like Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Sambhal, Uch, Aurangabad, Ujjain, Kalpi, etc., are Maulānā Diyāu’d-Dīn al-Madanī, Shaikh Abū’l-Faṭḥ al-Makkī, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Mūsā

1 KA, Vol. I, p. 70.

2 *Ibid.*, KA, Vol. I, p. 131. In this case, the patron-king’s name is not disclosed but when the protege expressed a desire to return to his native place, the king made available to him with a ship and other provisions.

3 Some of them returned after a long stay, but their number is small.

4 At Unḡheri island near Alibag south of Bombay is buried Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Salīm Mudhḥir Bā ‘Alawī, who is stated to have attained martyrdom in A.H. 1091 in a battle with non-Muslims probably Marathas (*ARIE*, 1954-55, No. D, 41).

al-Makkī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Bā Jābir al-Ḥadramī,¹ Shaikh Ma'ādh ibn Tāj, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Shāh Mīr al-Ḥalabī, Shaikh Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥamavī, Shaikh Abdu'l- Qādir al-Baghdādī² and Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Baghdādī.

It may perhaps be of interest to note, in passing that most of these settlers, particularly the Sādāt and the divines were buried in graveyards set apart for them. For example, frequent mention of such burials at the *Turbatu'l- 'Arab* (Arab Graveyard), situated near the Royal Palaces at Ahmedabad and *Maqbaratu's-Sādāt wa'l- 'Arab-'l-Bā-'Alawī* situated under the city-wall of Bijapur is made.³

A majority of the above, other than those brought to India as 'slaves', came in search of livelihood or better prospects and settled down in India, but there were some who returned to their native countries, not infrequently after amassing sufficient funds and even those who had settled down here are found to have been regularly sending amounts in cash or in kind. Some of them also returned after some time. Abū Sa'adāt Muḥammad al-Fākihī al-Makkī and Aḥmad al-Jauharī al-Makkī to quote only two examples, returned to their native place after a long sojourn respectively in Gujarat and Hyderabad, but returned again after spending a year or two there. Sayyid 'Alī Ibn Ma'sūm mentions Ḥasan ibn Shadqam al-Madanī as having come to India in the prime of his youth and acquired, after his marriage to the daughter of one of the kings there, great wealth, power and position, and went back after the death of his wife's father to his native town, but though he had lofty palaces and blooming gardens, which he had got constructed in his native place and had everything but power and authority, he returned to India to his former glory and position.⁴ The famous scholar and historian a' sh- Shillī's brother too had during his sojourn in India enjoyed great favours of Malik 'Ambar and the king. Not only that, but it is related in the account of Zain ibn 'Abdu'llāh Jummal a'l-Lail, who had returned to Madina, his native place, after a successful stay in India with Malik 'Ambar, that on coming to know that his great generosity had landed him into debt, a particular minister sent a ship-load of goods to enable him to discharge his debt

1 He had gone with Akbar's poet-laureate Faidī to the north (from Deccan), and died at Lahore in A.H. 1001.

2 NK, Vol. V, p. 232. He had come to the Goa port from his native country along with his uncle, after whose death he went to Gujarat. He was with Faidī in Deccan for some time. He is stated to have left a Dīwān of Arabic verses and a monograph in Arabic on Faidī (*Adhkār-i-Abrār* (AA), Urdu translation of *Gulzār-i-Abrār* Agra, A.H. 1328, pp. 548-49).

3 NS, pp. 404; HD, Vol. II, p. 640; NK, Vol. V, pp. 120, 127. Incidentally, in the Arab countries too, graveyards were set apart for foreigners. For example, there was *Turbatu'l-Ghurabā'* at Bābu'l-Farādis in Damascus, where a few Indian settlers were laid to rest (KA, Vol. I, p. 112).

4 SA, p. 249, unfortunately does not name the king.

therewith. Al-Muḥibbī reports that the day the ship reached Jedda Port, he died.¹ Even for saints who had not visited India—for example, ‘Abdu’r-Raḥmān al-Idrīsī al-Miknāsī al-Maghribī, settled in Mecca—presents used to be sent, from India also.² Some of them seem to have planned to purchase property and garden at their native places and establish endowments for the local population. The celebrated ‘Aidarūs saint, Shaikh of Khuldabad (Raudā), a protege of Malik ‘Ambar and his son Faṭḥ Khān, is reported to have sent money to Ḥadramaut for this purpose, but the ship carrying the money capsised and sank.³

Incidentally, some of them do seem to have felt home-sick or were not happy or very fortunate in their stay here. Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Ḥakīmu’l Mulk al-Makkī is reported to have complained in a letter to Qādī Tāju’d-Dīn, the Mālikī Imām at the Ḥaram at Mecca, about the pains of separation from the native country.⁴ Or one Zaid al-Ḥudailī is stated to have, after the death of his uncle who was a favourite of some minister, faced hardships.⁵

From the details given about these newcomers in different works, two things emerge quite clearly: the pattered of immigration, at least in the second half of the 16th and first half of the 17th century was decidedly tilted in favour of South Arabian peninsula, especially Ḥadramaut, from where members of families celebrated for piety or learning come to India, in many cases at the invitation of the men in power here like Malik ‘Ambar and others and engaged themselves, among other things, in the promulgation of traditional sciences like *Qur’ān*, Tradition, Theology, Mysticism, etc., at different centres like Ahmedabad, Broach, Surat, Daulatabad, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Belgaum, Hyderabad, etc., at most of which places and elsewhere⁶ their descendants still survive. But this influx seems to have halted, almost abruptly, but understandably, with the fall of the Gujarat Sultanate at the hands of Akbar and of the Ahmadnagar and Bijapur kingdoms at the hand of his successors, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. Simultaneously however, the influx from Central Asia and Persia

1 Name of the minister not specified (KA, Vol. II, p. 187) but probably other than Malik Ambar.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 346

3 KA, Vol. II, p. 236

4 SA, p. 158

5 KA, Vol. II, p. 187

6 There is, for example, the Khānqāh-i-‘Aidarusiyya at Rajpuri on the Konkan coast overlooking the island-fort of Janjira. The Bāfaqī Thangals of Kerala on the Malabar coast are also the descendants of Bā Faqīh families.

For some other emigrants or their descendants on the Malabar coast, as known from epitaphic epigraphs, see *ARIE*, 1965-66, Nos. 53, 54, 64, 82; etc. of Appendix D. There is also one ‘Aidarūs saint buried at Pannani in the Palghat district of Kerala (*ibid.*, No. 79).

proper seems to have started, but the locale seems to have shifted to the north, at the court of the Great Mughals.

Another important point is that just before the fall of the Qutb Shāhī kingdom, there was a spurt there in the literary activities of the Arabic poets and writers mainly under 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh and to some extent under his successor Abu'l-Ḥasan.¹ This was, as has been pointed out, probably due to the personal predelections in this branch of *belles lettres*, of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, originally a Dastakī Sayyid of Persian descent, domiciled at Mecca, and a poet of Arabic himself. Hyderabad was, it seems, in the middle and late seventeenth century, the foremost centre where Arabic poetry was cultivated by poets drawn from Arabian countries especially from Syria. It may be of interest to note that most of these were followers of the Shiite Creed.

But this was not a one-way traffic altogether. If men of accomplishment or those renowned for piety and asceticism were accorded great welcome and patronage in Indian capitals, we find even greater number of Indians, young and old going abroad. No doubt their primary object in majority of cases, was the performance of the Pilgrimage and visit to the Tomb of the Holy Prophet, but there were many who went to acquire proficiency in religious learning, particularly in the science of Tradition and Theology. Majority of them returned after the performance of the pilgrimage etc., or completion of their studies. There is no record of those who went every year to perform the Ḥajja, but their number must have been necessarily large. Even then, the list of such people as can be framed from different works is quite large.² Among them are men who performed pilgrimage a number of times, either during continued stay there extending from 4 to 5 to as many as 50 years,³ or otherwise.⁴ A large, if not greater, number went also, apart from offering pilgrimage, with a view or took the opportunity thus afforded to enrich or refresh their knowledge in religious sciences and engage themselves, in the case of those who returned, in teaching and promulgation of knowledge and learning. While at Mecca, Medina or other cities like Baghdad, Cairo, etc., which they visited before or after Ḥajja,

1 It may be of interest to note what al-Muḥibbi says about him: 'This monarch, as I have been informed recently, was among the unique personalities of the world, known for his generosity and liking for literature and men of letters. . . . till at last misfortune engulfed him at the hands of the greatest king of India Sultān Muḥyiu'd-Dīn known as Aurangzeb who captured him and imprisoned him and I think he is at the present moment still there in confinement (KA, Vol. I, p. 495).

2 Quite a few of them went at an advanced age, as much as 80 or more and settled down there.

3 NK, Vol. IV, p. 129; Vol. V, pp. 147, 183, 250, 276, 307, 359, etc. Most of them spent their time either in teaching, praying or meditation.

4 Their names will be found in one place in: *ibid.*, Vol. IV, and V.

they learnt under such eminent masters and learned scholars of the time as Shihābū d-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar al-Haithamī, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Buskarī, Shaikh Shamsu'd-Dīn al-'Alqamī, Shaikh u'l-Islām Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, Shaikh 'Alī al-Muttaqī, Shaikh Jāru'llāh Ibn Fahd, Shaikh ibn 'Arrāq, Shaikh Ḥasan al-Bakrī and the like. Prominent among these are : Sīdī Sa'id al-Ḥabashī, the Gujarat nobleman, already mentioned, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Tāhir Patanī, the Traditionist and author of the celebrated work *Majma'u Bihārī'l-Anwān fī Ghara'ibi't-Tanzīl*, Aḥmad ibn Khalīl al-Bijāpūrī, Ḥājji Ibrāhīm Sarhindī, a scholar of Akbar's court who took lessons in Ḥadīth from Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī, Shaikh 'Alāu'd-Dīn ibn Ismā'il of Mandu in Malwa, Mullā Shangarf Kashmīrī, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Bukhārī, Shaikh 'Alāu'd-Dīn of Radaulī, Maulānā 'Alī Tarīmī, Muftī Fīrūz Kashmīrī who had gone to the Holy cities in his childhood, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Mangan al-Mallānawī, Qādī Maḥmūd Nā'itī of Bijapur, Shaikh Yāsīn of Sāmāna in Panjab, Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī Kashmīrī, a great scholar and poet of Akbar's time, Shaikh Jauhar Bant Kashmīrī, a great savant and author, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wāhid Sambhalī, Maulānā 'Ilmu'llāh of Amethī; Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Kashmīrī, Maulānā Mīrak Shaikh,¹ and the like.

Quite a few of the Indian visitors abroad received practical training in one or the other mystic orders and donned the *Khirqas* in Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Yamen or Hijaz. These include Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn Ansārī Jindī who received the Qādiriyya Khirqa at Mecca from Shaikh Aḥmad al-Jilānī, the famous Gwalior saint Ḥājji Ḥamid Ḥasūr, the celebrated Chishtī saint of Fatehpur Sikri Shaikh Salīm, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Jaunpurī who received training in the Jaliliyya order from Yamanī divines,² Shaikh Qāsim of Peshawar, who received instruction in Syria and Shaikh Muḥammad of Bijapur who received it from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Azīm of Mecca.³

It may be of interest to note that the Ismā'ilīs who had migrated from Yamen and settled down in Gujarat used to send their promising students or would be Dāīs to Yaman, to study under the masters there: We are thus told of Shaikh Yūsuf ibn Sulaimān of Sidhpur, Shaikh Jalālu'd-Dīn ibn Ḥasan, Shaikh Dā'ūd ibn 'Ajab Shah and Shaikh Dā'ūd ibn Qutb Shāh having gone in the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century to study under masters like Shaikh 'Imādu'd-Dīn Idrīs al-Yamānī. Of these, the last three were the holders of the high position of *Da'wat* among the Indian Ismā'ilīs.⁴

1 He was, on his return, appointed tutor first to Prince Dārā Shukūh and then to Prince Murād by the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 415).

2 He had settled down at Medina, but was persuaded by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Bukhārī to return to India (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 291).

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 59-60, 98, 126, 291; Vol. V, pp. 339-40

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 69, 107-08, 395; Vol. V, p. 146. The present holder of this highest position or the religious head—*a'd-Dā'i*—is Sayyidnā Muḥammad Burhānu'd-Dīn.

Some of these visitors after realising their object, had preferred to settle down in the land they visited and quite a few of them attained such high proficiency in their subjects that they had taken to the vocation of teaching. They were usually held in high esteem by fellow savants of the host countries, and were respected for their piety, learning and saintliness and their relations with the fellow-scholars seem to have been quite cordial and they used to visit each other as frequently as possible.¹ Their Shaikh Ibrāhīm of Manikpur in Uttar-Pradesh, a Traditionist of note had after studying Commentary and Tradition at Baghdad for a year and a half, Ḥadīth at Cairo under masters like al-‘Alqamī and receiving *Ijāza* (Diploma of Qualification or Permission to teach) from Shaikh ‘Abdu’r-Raḥmān Ibn Fahd al-Maghribī, Shaikh Mas‘ūd al-Maghribī and Shaikh ‘Alī al-Muttaqī at Mecca, went again to Cairo and taught there for 24 years until the ‘love of the native country’ brought him back to India where he settled down at Agra.² Another Indian who received wide acclamation abroad, is Sayyid Sibghatu’llāh a’n-Naqshbandī originally of Broach in Gujarat. Described as a great teacher, an eminent mystic, well-versed in divine lore and different other branches of knowledge and author of many works, he had settled down at Medina in about A.H. 1005 and taken to teaching students and initiating disciples, prominent among whom were men like Sayyid Amjad Mīrzā, Sayyid As ‘ad Balkhī, Shaikh ‘Abdu’llāh ibn walī al-Ḥadramī, Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Hindī a’ s-San ‘ānī,³ Shaikh Muḥyīu’d-Dīn al-Misrī, Mullā Shaikh al-Kurdī and Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Aẓīm al-Makkī. According to the Syrian biographer al-Muḥibbī, his Gloss on the Quranic commentary by Qādī-Baidawī was well-known throughout Islamic world (as it is now) and especially popular in the Turkish land.⁴ The greatest Indian perhaps of this age to command universal respect and honour in the new surroundings from kings (including Sultān Sulaimān of Turkey), savants and students alike is Shaikh ‘Alī al-Muttaqī, the author of the world-famous work on Tradition *Kanzu’l-Ummāl fi Sunani’l-Aqwāl wa’l-Af‘āl*, who is too wellknown to need any introduction. Suffice to say here that it has been said about him that ‘every one of the learned men and divines whom he met or who met him, such as the great savants and masters Abu’l-Ḥassn al-Bakrī, Shaikh Wajihu’d-Dīn al-‘Amīdī, Shaikh Shihāb Ibn Ḥajar al-Haithamī, Shamsu’d-Dīn al-Ansārī of Egypt and Shamsu’d-Dīn al-Bakrī showered great encomiums upon him, and that ‘people coming to visit the

1 See, for example, *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 342; *KA*, Vol. II, pp. 327, 474, etc.

2 *AA*, p. 423. He was called by emperor Akbar to his Ibādat Khāna for which see Mullā ‘Abdu’l-Qādir Badā-yūnī, *Muntakhabu’l-Tawārikh*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1869), p. 139.

3 He was born and brought up in San’a, capital of Yemen, where his father carried on trade, as will be mentioned later.

4 *KA*, Vol. II, pp. 243-44; Also *NK*, Vol. V, pp. 175-77.

Holy House, made towards him as they did towards Marwā and Safā.¹ He is indeed fit to be reckoned as, in the words of the author of *a'n-Nūru's-Sāfir*, a glorious son of whom India could be proud (*min mafakhiri'l-Hind*)² Another celebrated Indian saint, author of many books and scholar learned in different branches of knowledge including agriculture and culinary art, who commanded great respect in Islamic countries is Shaikh Tāju'd-Dīn Sambhalī who finds detailed notices in foreign biographies of al-Muḥibbī and Shaikh Aḥmad a'n-Nakhli al-Makkī. A great author and divine, among the scholars, Shaikhs, nobleman and others who received guidance from him in various places in Arabian countries which he toured before finally setting down at Mecca, and also in Mecca, are Shaikh Muḥammad Mirzā a'd-Damishqī, Amīr Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī Pāshā, al-Ustādh Aḥmad Abu'l-Wafa, Shaikh Muḥammad 'Allān al-Makkī, Shaikh 'Abdullāh al-'Aidarūs, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Baqī a'z-Zamjāji az-Zabīdī, Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Iḥsā'ī, Shaikh Abū Bakr ibn Sa'id al-'Aidarūs and the like.³

Another illustrious Indian family which held high position in learned circles and wielded authority is that of Muftī Qutbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad a'n-Nahrwālī, the celebrated author of the History of Mecca, entitled *al-A'lām bi-l-lām-i-Baiti'llāhi'l-Harām*, also known as *Tārikhu'l-Qutbi*.⁴ His father 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad had migrated to Hijaz, studied there under masters like 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Ibn Fahd and took to the teaching line, having been probably appointed to lecture at the College at Mecca established and maintained by the Gujarat Sultans. The son rose to still greater heights and was highly respected by the Ottoman Sultān and his grandees, who would, according to a'sh-Shaukānī, not go through the rites of Pilgrimage except under his guidance. He was for some time in charge of the Madrasa founded by Aḥmad Shāh I of Gujarat at Mecca and also taught at al-Madrastu'l-Ḥanafīyyatu's-Sulaimāniyya, founded by the Ottoman Sultān Sulaimān whose successors Salīm and Murād were great admirers of his.⁵ His brother Muḥibbu'd-Dīn and nephew 'Abdu'l-Karīm also were men of distinction; the latter was made, first, the Muftī of Mecca in A.H. 988 and later on its Khatīb in A.H. 990, and also taught at al-Madrasatu's-Sultāniyyat u'l-Murādiyya there.⁶ His grandson and name-sake

1 NS, p. 317, quoting from the monograph on the Shaikh's life titled *al-Qawlu'n-Nāqī fi Manāqibi'l-Muttaqī* by an Arabian savant 'Allāma 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Fākihi al-Makkī.

2 *Ibid.*

3 KA, Vol. I, p. 464; NK, Vol. V, pp. 99-102.

4 Published at Mecca.

5 *al-A'lām bi-l-lām-i-Baiti'llāhi'l-Harām*, Introduction (where Arabian authors 'Abdu'l-lāh a'd-Dawādī, author of *al-wāfi bi-Wafayāti'l-A'yān*, a'sh-Shaukānī, etc., are quoted and pp. 294-95); NS, pp. 383-89; NK, Vol. IV, pp. 285-90; etc.

6 He, like his uncle, was an author of repute (KA, Vol. III, p. 8).

popularly known as al-Qutbī, had earned reputation as being one of the eminent scholars of Mecca and its top divines. He died in A. H. 1055.¹

One of the Indian settlers in Mecca who taught at the Ḥaram is Sayyid Ghadanfar of Nahrwāla in Gujarat, a Traditionist, Theologian and Arabicist; among those who benefitted by his lectures are Shaikh Aḥmad a'sh-Shanāwī, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān al-Murshadī, the Muftī at the Ḥaram, and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir a't-Tabarī al-Makkī.²

Likewise, we find Shaikh Mūsā bin Ja'far al-Kashmīrī engaged in imparting instruction at Aden in the early part of the 17th century³ and two more settlers, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb of Broach, one of the companions and pupils of Shaikh Alī al-Muttaqī and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Malik al-Gujarātī, performing the same functions at Mecca.⁴

One of the settlers in Yaman was Shaikh Sārimu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Sāliḥ al-Hindī, whose father, originally an Indian non-Muslim merchant carrying on trade at Sana, the capital of Yaman, had embraced Islam. Ibrāhīm was a poet of Arabic of no mean order and his poems in praise of the Imāms of Yaman and elegies on the death of eminent persons and scholars have been highly praised and extensively quoted by al-Muḥibbī, a'sh-Shankānī and 'Alī Ibn Ma'sūm.⁵

Among others who made their name as scholars or teachers or saints and earned respect, are, to name only a few, the great Traditionist and scholar Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb al-Muttaqī, teacher of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith, who was known in Yaman as Qutb of Mecca,⁶ 'Abdu'll-āh as-Sindī and his sons Raḥmatu'llāh and 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid,⁷ all reputed for their deep knowledge of Tradition, Theology and other Islamic Sciences, Shaikh Afdal Husain Kashmīrī, Shaikh Auliya of Kalpi, Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh Gujarātī,⁸ Shaikh 'Abdu'

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 474

2 *NK*, Vol. V, p. 301

3 *KA*, Vol. II, p. 236

4 *NK*, Vol. V, pp. 260, 266. A person of Indian origin—from Delhi, born in Siberia and settled in Mecca is mentioned in Shamsu' d-Dīn Muḥammad a's-Sakhawī, *a'd-Daw'ul-Lāmi li-Ahli'l-Qarni't-Tāsi* (DI.), Vol. X (Cairo), p. 53.

5 *KA*, Vol. III, pp. 233-412, 431; *SA*, pp. 477-85; *NK*, Vol. V, p. 5. a'sh-Shaukān mentions his voluminous *Diwān*-collection of poems which he had seen.

6 It is related by Shaikh Abdu'l-Haq (*Akhbāru'l-Akhyār*, Delhi, A.H. 1332, pp. 270-71) that one of the Meccan savants Shaikh 'Alāu'd-Dīn told him that all the Yamanī masters and saints whom he had encountered in the course of his journeys to the country were unanimous in their admiration for Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, whom they referred to as the Qutb of Mecca.

7 Among his students were savants like Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmā al-Murshadī, Mufti of the Haram, Shaikh Aḥmad al-'Ajil al-Yamanī (*NS*, p. 439; *KA*, Vol. I, p. 327).

8 Those who learnt from him at Mecca include Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Madanī and Hasan ibn 'Alī al-Makkī.

Ilāh Lāhorī who finds mention in the works of Meccan scholars and Shaikh Abū Bakr a's-Sindī and his companion Mullā Muḥammad al-Hindī who had settled down in Damascus (where they were living in the Tawāshiyyā to the east of the Umayyid Jāmi' Mosque). There is also Shaikh Nizāmu'd-Dīn a's-Sindī, one of the companions of afore-mentioned Sayyid Sibghatu'llāh and also his student, who had gone, accompanied by his younger brother, after finishing his studies at Madina to Damascus, thence to Jerusalem, thence to Ghazza and finally to Egypt where he died.¹ Another pupil of Sayyid Sibghatu'llāh, Shaikh Mūsā a's-Sindī also went to Damascus in his old age, from Madina, to visit the graves of the Prophets and finally settled down at Jerusalem.² A Shaikh Khidr Jaunpūrī had settled in Jerusalem.³ His namesake Shaikh Khidr al-Mārdīnī, originally an Indian, who had gone to Aleppo in A.H. 1013 and who was well-versed in three languages and composed verses in these, rose to such high position as to be sent by the Minister Nusūḥ, as an envoy on behalf of the Ottomon Sultān Aḥmad to Shāh 'Abbās of Persia, and according to al-Muḥibbī, he was able to effect a compromise between the two. The Minister when he was posted at Constantinople, also took him with him there where he ultimately died in A.H. 1022.⁴

Quite a few of these, like Maulānā Fadlu'llāh Jamālī the celebrated poet, Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh Sarhindi, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Muḥaddith Akbarābādī, Sayyid Ibrāhīm Ghiyāthu'purī and Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī, took or found opportunity, to visit many Islamic countries and cities like Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Yaman, North Africa or Balkh, Baghdad, Basra, Jerusalem, Damascus. etc., before returning to India or settling down at one of these places itself.⁵ Some were sent as leaders of the Ḥajja-contingent (Amīru'l-Ḥājj) by some rulers including Akbar. Some were even intended to act as envoys to other kings Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bihārī is stated to have been sent by Shāh Jahān as an envoy to the Ottomon Sultān and the Chief of the Holy Cities.⁶

There were also cases of political externees, so to say, who were sent to Holy Cities mainly under royal wrath or displeasure. The names of the famous Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Sultānpūrī Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and Shaikh 'Abdu'n-Nabī, the

1 According to al-Burīnī, while at Damascus, he proclaimed his Mahdihood from the minaret-tops of the Umayyid and Salimī Jāmi' mosques, and a suspected psychiocyte, he was kept under observation in al-Bimāristānu'l-Qaisarī (Hospital) in the Sālīhiyya quarter of the city (*NK*, Vol. V, pp. 421-22).

2 According to al-Ghazzī, he was well versed in Tradition, Commentary, Mysticism Exegis, Logic and Rhetorics (*ibid.*, p. 413).

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 105

4 *KA*, Vol. II, p. 129

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 212-219; Vol. V, p. 8; etc.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 68

Sadru's-Sudūr, who were removed from their posts and sent to the Holy Cities by way of temporary banishment are quite well-known to students of Indian history. Among other less known such victims of royal wrath are Shaikh Husain Chishtī of Ajmer and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Lāhorī, likewise banished by Akbar. Some of the more independent-minded persons were even banished for good or they chose not to return: Shaikh Ādam of Bannor, a saint of great influence and large following—stated number 4,00,000—settled down at Mecca along with a considerable number of his followers, after having been compelled to leave India under orders of emperor Shāh Jahān.¹ Some others like Ḥakīm Shamsu'l-Mulk Gīlānī, went in disgust, in the time of Akbar.²

But that such exile or banishment particularly to the Holy Cities was at times voluntary or at least compelled by circumstances, is illustrated by two instances of well-known men: 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Āsaf Khān, the Prime Minister of Bahādur of Gujarat, was sent to Mecca, accompanied by '1,000 knights and soldiers and equal number of retinue and attendants', in ten vessels, along with the royal Seraglio and royal treasures in hundreds of chests full of cash, textile and like material and jewels, and stayed there for over a decade before he returned to Ahmadabad in A.H. 955. Āsaf Khān's stay in Mecca was marked by his piety and religiosity and his lavish patronage of learned men, grants to scholarly establishments and assistance to the deserving and the needy,³ was unheard of in the history of the Holy City.⁴ Another such instance is of Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, Governor of Gujarat under Akbar who, enraged at the emperor's religious policy, left for Hijaz with his entire family and 100 retainers in A.H. 1002. He is said to have, during his stay at Mecca, not only distributed money for the needy and the destitutes of Mecca, but advanced an amount equivalent to that for 50 years to the chief of Mecca and also endowed landed property at Medina for a charitable purpose before his return a year later.⁵

Some of the more well-to-do-people also arranged for the burial of their dead bodies in the Holy City, such as for example, the bodies of two Arghūn monarchs of Sind, Mīrzā Shāhī Baig (died A.H. 928) and his son Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan (d. A.H. 962) were taken to Mecca to be laid to rest at the Mi'lāt.⁶

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 207, 219; Vol. V, pp. 2, 135, 237

2 *NK*, Vol. V, p. 141

3 He distributed among the Meccans 150 chests of gold and 'provided the women of Mecca and their servants with golden dresses and provided subsistence for most of them (*HD*, Vol. I, p. 363).

4 The news of his death at Ahmedabad in A.H. 961 cast the Holy City in gloom, and poets and scholars grieved over his loss (*NS*, pp. 243-47), where a touching elegy of 87 verss composed by Shaikhul-Islām 'Abdu'l-Aziz a'z-Zamzamī al-Makkā the Muftī of the Haram is cited); also see *HD*, Vol. I, pp. 377-85.

5 *NK*, Vol. V, p. 272.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 93, 136.

It may be noted that quite a few of these people find mention in the works of Arab and Turkish biographers. For example, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Malik al-Gujarātī, a great authority on Tradition, is mentioned by Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī al-Madanī in his *al Umam li-Aicāzil-Himam* and Shaikh Muḥammad bin Tayyib al-Fāsi in his '*Uyūnu Mawāridi s-Silsila fī Aḥādithi'l-Musalsala fī'r-Rivā-yāti'l-Mushrafa*'. Another such savant is Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh al-Lāhorī, a man holding the highest diploma in Tradition—*a's-San'atu'l-'Alī ā*—who is mentioned in addition to Shaikh Ibrāhīm, by 'Abdu'llāh ibn Sālim al-Basrī al-Makkī in his *al-Imdād bi-'Uluwwi'l-Asnād* and, a'z-Zamjāī in his *Nuzhatu Riyādi'l-Ijāza*.¹ A number of such scholars find mention in work of these and other such Arabian masters as Ibn Ḥajar al-Haithamī, Ḥāfiẓ Sakhāwī, Najm al-Ghazālī, al-Būrīnī and others.

While it is but natural that these Indian visitors of settlers who came in contact, either as pupils or teachers, disciples or masters, with the learned elite and authorities in various branches of knowledge of Mecca, Madina and other cities of Islam, should find mention in the works of the latter, there are quite a few wellknown saints and scholars, whose fame, though they confined themselves to their country, spread far and wide into the Islamic lands where their teaching and writings had considerable influence, as is evidenced by these Arabian authors themselves directly or indirectly. Shaikh 'Alī ibn Qiwāmu'd-Dīn-al-Jaunpurī, who died in India, in A.H. 955 and never left India is mentioned by al-Muḥibbī in his account of the former's more celebrated disciple Shaikh Tāju'd-Dīn Sambhalī.² Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Fadlu'llāh who was born and brought up in Gujarat and educated in Mecca, was one of the authors, on whose work *a't-Tuḥfatu'l-Mursala illa'n-Nabīyyi Sallallāhu 'Alaihi wa-Sallam*, the afore-mentioned foreign scholar Ibrāhīm al Kūrānī wrote a gloss.³ Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥakīm of Sialkot, the celebrated savant and teacher of Shāh Jahān's time has been devoted a notice by al-Muḥibbī who pays glowing tribute to his learning and knowledge.⁴ Muḥibbī and Shillī mention another such scholar and divine Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-'Aidarūs, the celebrated author of *a'n-Nūru'l-Sāfir* and of large number of other works in Arabic,⁵ who died at Ahmadabad in A.H. 1038.

Among the other scholar-saints, these works mention Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Bāqī better known as Bāqī bi'llāh, who died at Delhi in A.H. 1014 and Shaikh Aḥmad al-Fārūqī, popularly known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī, who died at Sarhind in A.H. 1034. The impact of the latter's teachings in the Islamic countries may

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 253, 260

2 *KA*, Vol. I, p. 480; *NK*, Vol. IV, pp. 245-46

3 *NK*, Vol. V, pp. 353 on the authority of *KA*

4 *KA*, Vol. II, pp. 318-19

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 440-42

be judged from what Shaikh Muḥsin ibn Yaḥyā al-Bakrī a't-Tamīmī has said : 'Not a region is found from among the Islamic countries of India, Khurasan, Transoiana and the countries of Turks and Tatar to eastern extremes, and Iraq, al-Jazira, Syria, Hijaz, Constantinople and its dependencies, where the order founded by him is not followed and where his name is not repeatedly mentioned by people; as a matter of fact, his order has penetrated as far west as Fās (modern Fez) in the Maghrib', etc.¹ The correspondence between Indian opponents of the Shaikh's ideology and concept and the Arabian theologians and masters on its correctness or otherwise is well-known.²

Quite a few of these masters, if not all, must have been living on stipends and subsistence grants received from Indian monarchs and their ministers, some of whom had established madrasa-cum-hospices or rest-houses at the Holy Cities and had endowed landed property for their maintenance,³ besides sending considerable amount in cash and kind every year with pilgrims for distribution among them as well as among other deserving people and the chiefs.⁴ That the Madrasa established by Sultān Aḥmad I near the Holy Haram and the one by his great grandson Maḥmūd I were still running during the period under notice is clear from the fact that Muftī Qutbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-Makkī and his father 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad a'n-Nahrwāllī were associated with these as teachers. Maḥmūd's son and successor Muazffar Shāh II also had a *Rabāt* constructed at Mecca which comprised a Madrasa, a public water-place or fountain (*Sabīl*) and buildings other than these and had created an endowment for it, in India, of landed property, the proceeds from which were sent to Macca every year in the Ḥajja-season to be distributed to the teachers, students, the residents at the cells and attendants of the water-place ; he also used to send provisions for the residents of the Holy Cities. This practice was continued throughout his reign.⁵ This monarch also sent to the Holy Cities two copies of the *Qur'ān*, transcribed by him in *Thulth* characters with gold water, to be recited there by the Ḥanafī Imām, with their two cases (*Rab 'atain*) bearing similar superscriptions in his hand and he also created endowments, again in India, whose proceeds were annually sent to Mecca for paying the Reciters of the *Qur'ān* or its parts, their

1 The quotation further containing an account of the Mujaddid's works, etc., occurs in NK, Vol. V, pp. 44-45.

2 For a brief account, see *ibid.*, pp. 45-47.

3 Details of such endowments and madrasas established at Mecca and Madina in the 15th century have been given elsewhere by me in *Islamic Culture*, loc. cit., and *Malik Ram Felicitation Volume*, loc. cit.

4 It is for example, noted by Itn Fahd (cf. NS, p. 92) that Maḥmūd I of Gujarat besides constructing at Mecca a *Rabāt* known as al-Kamāyatiyya, where lessons were imparted by competent teachers, used to send large sums in charity but discontinued the practice after some time on being informed that the distribution was not properly managed.

5 HD, Vol. I, pp. 131-32

custodian and his subordinates and those who would pray for the Sultān's well-being at the time of the *Khatm* (completion of the recitation of the whole *Qur'ān*) ceremony and attendants like the distributors of parts, water-attendant, herald and cleaner appointed for the purpose. This continued to be observed according to Ḥājji Dabīr who saw these copies in Mecca, right upto the time of Sultān Maḥmūd III's death in A.H. 961.¹ This was in addition to what he would occasionally despatch especially made ships laden with a rich cargo of costly textiles to Jedda for the residents of the Holy Cities.²

Reference has already been made to Bahādur Shāh's Prime Minister Āsaf Khān's munificence and lavish gifts to the people of Mecca who would even clad their servant-folks in costly clothes.³ He had established, adjacent to the Bābu'l-'Umra at Mecca, a Madrasa for imparting education in two schools of Sunnī Law, and put it under charge of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz a'z-Zamzamī, the Muftī of the Shāfi'is at Mecca and the celebrated traditionist Ibn Ḥajar himself.⁴ Even after his return to India in A.H. 955, every versified communication that reached him annually from the said Muftī fetched a reward of 500 gold coins, and a special present of 200 more coins, while others, of cloth worth 100 gold coins.⁵ This practice continued till his murder six years later.

Muzaffar's grandson Maḥmūd III too did not lag behind his predecessors in these matters. Among the buildings constructed by him at Mecca were a *Rabāṭ* in the Sūq a'l-Lail in the vicinity of the house where the Holy Prophet was born, enclosing an old running water-spring and comprising a Madrasa, a water-shed, an orphanage and cells on the ground-floor and the roof; a *Rabāṭ* near the Bābu'l-'Umra, and a water-shed on the Jedda Road. He had also constructed a residence for the great savant Shaikh 'Alī al-Muttaqī—the Sultān was a great admirer of his and played host to him at his capital every year for some time—near his *Rabāṭ* in the Sūq a'l-Lail, comprising a spacious court enclosed by cells for the savant's Indian followers and devotees.⁶ The Shaikh

1 *Ibid.*, p. 132

2 *Ibid.*, p. 131

3 The celebrated Traditionist Ibn Hajar al-Haithamī who had close relations with him at Mecca, quotes in his monograph on Āsaf Khān another contemporary savant as saying that this munificence recalled to mind the proverbial munificence of the Abbasid Caliphs and the House of Barmak which they had only heard and now they were actually witnessing (*ibid.*, p. 362). This monograph, entitled *Riyādu'r-Ridwān fī Ma'āthiri'l-Masnadi'l-'Alī Āsaf Khān*, has been entirely quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 333-76.

4 Referred to in the Arabic Qasida of 86 verses composed by the Muftī (*ibid.*, pp. 377-81).

5 Ibn Ḥajar in his Monograph (*ibid.*, p. 381). The touching elegy composed by the Muftī on receipt of the news of his death in Mecca has been referred to above. The summary of Ibn Ḥajar's Monograph in *NK*, Vol. IV, pp. 189-93 is very probably made from Ḥājji Dabir's work.

6 *HD*, Vol. I, p. 316. The text has *min ahli's-Sind* (i.e. people from Sind), but *a's-Sind* is very probably a misprint for *al-Hind*.

also used to receive a large amount every year which he would spend in helping the needy and the poor from the endowment set apart for him by the Sultān, who also used to redeem his liabilities.¹

As for the welfare of the Holy Cities too, the Sultān had endowed villages near Cambay—the Qandahār² port being one of them—whose total revenue was to the tune of 1,00,000 gold coins: goods like indigo and cloth worth this amount were purchased and laden on royal ships and exported off Ghogha port to Jedda; transport and other incidental costs were borne by the State exchequer and at Jedda too, the goods were exempted from import duties. The amount realised from their sale proceeds used to last for the residents of the city for best part of the year.³ The last act of public utility of the Sultān at Mecca was the digging of wells on the Madina Road, for which purpose he had sent 1,000 *Sunḍa*-load of indigo⁴ from Gujarat, in A.H. 961, a short time before his murder.⁵

The Maḥmūdī endowment continued till after the end of the Gujarat Sultanate and was revalidated by the Mughal emperor Akbar who added a few more villages. To this Akbarī Waqf, as it was now, popularly at least, known, the emperor had appointed Sīdī Sa'īd a's-Sultānī the builder of the world-famous mosque at Ahmadabad as its trustee, some time before the latter's death in A.H. 984.⁶ Prior to that the famous historian Ḥājī Dabīr was appointed as Cashier to carry the endowment-money to Mecca.⁷ Incidentally, those mainly associated with the administration of the Waqf were the Manager, the Secretary and the Cashier.⁸

The practice of sending money to the Holy Cities seems to have continued after Akbar also, for we are informed by al-Muḥibbī that Shāh Jahān, when yet a prince, had sent in about A.H. 1020, money to the Muftī of the Ḥaram, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān al-Murshadī al-Makkī for distribution among the inhabitants, the needy, male or female.⁹ Shāh Jahān had again sent 1,50,000 coins for the

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16

2 Gāndhār in Broach district of Gujarat.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 313. 'The Ottomon endowments which the Amīru'l-Ḥājī brought saw them through the Hajja and a couple of months, while the Maḥmūdī endowments rendered them debt-free for the rest of the year'.

4 At this time, the price was as high as 200 gold per *Sunḍa* (*Ibid.*, p. 288).

5 This was done, according to Ḥājī Dabīr whose father was incharge of the operations at Mecca, at the instance of Āsaf Khān, the Prime Minister (*ibid.*, p. 314).

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 618, 643

7 He had left India on the 18th Dhu'l-Qa'da A.H. 981 and returned a year later (*ibid.*, p. 635).

8 *Ibid.*

9 *KA*, Vol. II, p. 371. The practice of sending money or revenue from endowments specially created seems to have been prevalent from early times in India. A thirteenth-century

chief of Mecca and its elites along with Farāsāt Khān, the Superintendent of the Royal Seraglio, when he proceeded on pilgrimage in A.H. 1060.¹

The endowments or the assistance were not confined to the Sultāns of Gujarat only or to the Holy Cities either. The celebrated Nizām Shāhī general and minister Malik ‘Ambar who was a great helper of men of learning and noble descent, Sūfīs and divines in general, used to send every year to Ḥadramaut sufficient money and clothes for the elite—*Sādāt* and *Mashaikh*—as also for the needy, to last them for the year. He had also dedicated copies of the *Qur’ān* at Tarim in Ḥadramaut and at Mecca, and had purchased houses at Mecca and Madina and endowed them for those who recited them and prayed for him.² Likewise, the Qutb Shāhī kings also seem to have followed the practice of sending money to the Holy Cities, for Qāḍī Muḥammad ibn Khalil al-Iḥsā’ī al-Makkī is mentioned as having been incharge of the distribution—money in Mecca.³

As to those who came to India, some did so in search of livelihood or of opportunities and prospects, while others came as traders or merchants, and a few as travellers or tourists also, but majority with the intention to acquire learning particularly in Intellectual Sciences or Mystical lore. Another main object was also to meet saints and scholars, particularly their own countrymen or kinsmen and receive instruction or insignia of spiritual succession from, or study under them.⁴ Quite a few appear to have been in transit, having been here on their way to or back from some of the other parts of the world they visited, viz. Ḥabasha (Abyssinia), East African Coast, Yemen, Hijaz, Java, etc. ‘Ali ibn ‘Umar Bā ‘Umar, a saint, for example, had visited India in the course of his travel to Java. Another such visitor was Muḥammad ibn Barakāt a’s-Saqqāf who could never stay at one place and was always on the move, repairing frequently from Mokhā (Mocha of the maps) in between to the Holy Cities’. So were Shaikh Abū Bakr ibn Sa‘īd al-Jufri of Yemen, described by Muḥibbī as the most widely travelled man of his day (d. A.H. 1088) and Shaikh Najību’d-Dīn ‘Alī al-Makkī a’sh-Shāmī al-‘Āmulī and Shaikh Ḥusain a’sh-Shāmī al-‘Āmulī, who

example of this practice is evidenced in two inscriptions dated A.H. 663, in Sanskrit and Arabic respectively in the time of the Vāghelā king Arjun Deva of Gujarat and Amīr Ruk u’d-Dīn Maḥmūd of Hormuz, according to which the balance of the income of the property endowed for the mosque built by him at Somnath by a merchant of Hormuz, after meeting certain specified expenses was to be sent to Mecca and Madina (*Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1961, pp. 10-15)

1 NK, Vol. V, p. 358

2 KA, Vol. II, p. 231. He had established a separate Department called *Diwānu Arbābi’r-Rusūmi wa’l-Qussād* (Department of the Men of Ceremonies and Travellers).

3 SA, p. 228

4 KA, Vol. I, pp. 162, 218; Vol. II, pp. 188, 235-36, 363-64; Vol. III, pp. 39, 40, 49, 51, 60; *Ḥadiqatu’s-Sūrat*, pp. 36, 37, 45, etc.

visited among other places in India, Hyderabad in the course of their world-tours.¹

But it is apparent that quite a few of these, if not all, earned their living by carrying on trade or serving under foreign merchants and traders. A great theologian and learned man Shaikh 'Alawī al-Jufri who died at Tarim in A.H. 1061, had a flourishing trade in Yemen, Egypt, African Coast and India. Shaikh Maḥmūd a't-Tārimi, father of the celebrated savant 'Allāma Muḥammad who died in A.H. 941, was a merchant who carried on business in Turkey, India and other countries. Malik 'Abdu'n-Nābi al Maghribī, whose former slave was Sandal al Habashī, an Abyssinian official, later on Khairāt Khān, was a great merchant—*Maliku't-Tujjār* i. e. Prince among merchants—at Cambay, who carried on trade in Gujarat in the middle of the 16th century. Another merchant of note was Fakhru't-Tujjār Khwāja Salāmat al-Maghribī known as a'sh-Shātir who carried on trade in the second half of the 16th century on Gujarat coast.² Among other traders of the early 16th century, mention is made of Abū'l-Yaman al-Makkī and Abu's-Sa'ūd al-Qāhiri al-Makkī.³

This presence of foreign merchants at Indian ports or *vice versa* is not surprising. Western India, particularly Gujarat, with its long coast and enterprising businessmen, had since bygone ages, commercial contacts with West Asian countries, and its textile industries and products like indigo were in great demand in the foreign markets. Its overland trade was also considerable. While Indian traders both Hindus and Muslims were found in foreign forts like Aden, Mokha, Sana, etc.,⁴ the Gujarat coast was never without the merchants from other countries. Its ports right from Pūr-Mayānī (modern Porbandar) to Mahim, were full of Arab merchants.⁵ Among the more prosperous ports were Pūr-Mayānī, Mangrol, Div, Ghogha, Cambay, Broach, Surat, Daman and Mahim (now part of the Metropolitan Bombay). But the most flourishing of these in the 16th and 17th centuries were Div and Surat. Div, the main city in the small island of the southern Saurashtra coast, was as stated earlier, the naval base of the Gujarat Sultanate and was, also, during the 16th century a great centre of trade and commerce and a paying port for the merchants. More than 100 cargo-laden ships used to set sail from its port every year and the number of seaworthy vessels that lay anchored there exceeded 1,000. The

1 KA, Vol. I, pp. 84, 131; Vol. II, pp. 236-37. 348; Vol. III, pp. 178, 403; SA, pp. 310, 355-56

2 KA, Vol. III, 121; HD, Vol. I, pp. 61, 246; Vol. II, 641, etc.

3 DL, XI, pp. 115, 151. The last mentioned probably inherited the trade from his father who had been carrying trade with India and had died there.

4 NS, pp. 51, 358; NK, Vol. V, p. 5

5 HD, Vol. I, pp. 117, 287; Vol. II, p. 449. Other important flourishing ports on the Konkan coast were Cheul, Dābhol and Goa.

foreign ships that called at its port¹ also included mercantile vessels of the Portuguese and the Europeans. The prosperity of sea-trade at Div may be judged from the fact that the number of the servants of merchants there who queued up at the local slaughter-house for their daily rations of meat exceeded 500.²

The importance of Div dwindled after its loss to the Portuguese in the middle of the 16th century, and the centre of trade shifted to Surat, another flourishing centre of trade then. Surat indeed now became the most flourishing port of Gujarat particularly under its governor Safar Khudāwand Khān and his son, and became and has been thenceforth the Gate-way to Mecca and other Arabian countries. A large number of foreign merchants used to dwell here, and fleets of ships laden with precious commodities and costly merchandise bound for Egypt and other countries used to set sail.³ Cambay and Ghogha were other important ports.⁴

It may also be of interest to know that these vessels were owned, apart from big merchants, by the Sultān and important individuals like ministers, members of the nobility, officials, élite and the like. Mention is made, for example, to royal ships of Gujarat, Bijapur and Golconda, and ships owned by such noblemen as Āsaf Khān, Safar Khudāwand Khān, Sa'īd al-Ḥabashī a'-Sultānī, Muḥammad Ulugh Khān, and others among noblemen and governors, and Shaikh al-'Aidarūs, the celebrated divine, of Ahmadabad. These ships were generally designated as of today: among the royal ships of Gujarat,⁵ mention is made of Daryā-Sarā (lit. Ocean-faring) and Muḥammadi. A third named Tiz-Raw (lit. fast-moving) by which Ḥājji Dabīr travelled on his return journey from Mecca in A.H. 983, belonged to the governor of Surat. while the ship belonging to Shaikh al-'Aidarūs was called 'Aidarūsiyya. It appears that at least the masters of the ships if not some of the members of the crew were foreigners: some whose names we come across are 'Ambar 'Abdu'n-Nabī and Ḥasan 'Alawān, ship-masters of Ulugh Khān's vessels, Khamīs Tandel and Maḥmūd Mu'allim, of the vessel belonging originally to Asaf Khān,⁶ Mandal

1 For the 'Aidarusiyya ship coming from Shiḥr in A.H. 981 to Div, see *NS*, p. 351.

2 *HD*, Vol. I, p. 287

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 441

4 The sea-faring activities, both for naval or mercantile purposes, may be judged from the fact that in A.H. 953, as many as five hundred *grābs* (kind of vessels) were built in Surat, Broach, Ghogha, Daman and Cambay out of teakwood (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 283).

5 The other Sultanates of Deccan also maintained their own ships. An Ādil Shāhī vessel carried the famous divine Sayyid Sibghatu'llāh to Mecca (*NK*, Vol. V, p. 175).

6 It may be of interest to note that this ship was transferred to the then Director of Ports (Shāh-Bandar) of Gujarat, Khwāja Alāu'd-Dīn towards repayment of loan (*HD*, Vol. II, p. 630).

Ḥabashī known as Moshāl, master of the royal ship Muḥammadī, and Salmān al-'Anasī, the ship-master of Amīr Salmān.¹

The merchandise and cargo in these ships consisted of various goods of which, it seems textiles of various types and indigo were in large demand at the Holy Cities and elsewhere.² Some of the Indian confectioneries and preserves (*murabbayāt*) also seem to have been popular in Arabian countries.³ Indian steel also seems to have been exported and in return finished goods made of it like various kinds of swords were brought every year from the Arabian port Jedda to India; from the names of these swords, to wit, Junūbī (southern) Maghrībī (north-African) Misrī (Egyptian) and Dailamī, it would appear that they were manufactured at in those parts. Hunting knives and quivers were also imported from Jedda.⁴ It seems that Mecca, by virtue of its being the centre of Islamic world, was the emporium of the goods of the Islamic world and we find Āsaf Khān and others obtaining, there, goods desired by the Sultān and other for despatch to India.⁵ Arabian horses were also a valued item of import.⁶

The exchange of books between India and Islamic countries was also a part of the trade. As will have been by now made clear, learning and scholarship were greatly valued; hence, any opportunity of obtaining fine or rare or important books was not usually lost. When on his return to India in A.H. 965, Āsaf Khān survived a storm and a ship-wreck in which most of the costly goods he carried were lost, he is on record as having expressed no regret for the loss of anything but his books,⁷ apart from a sword given to him as memento by the chief of Mecca and a particular Arab horse of finest breed. Sīdī Sa'īd Ḥabashī as'-Sultānī, referred to above, was also a great lover and collector of books, so much so that if books were not available in the country, he would send for them from Egypt and elsewhere. He once had a special vessel sent to Egypt

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 38, 218, 319; Vol. II, p. 496, 552, 630, 641; etc.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 314, 356, etc. The revenue from endowments, the amount for provisions of journey or purchase of commodities to be imported and the like were usually sent not in cash but in kind in the form of Textile-goods and Indigo. At one time, the Indigo of Sarkhej near Ahmedabad is stated to have fetched at Medina 200 gold coins per one *Sūnda*—large basket or case (*ibid.*, p. 288).

3 Āsaf Khān had taken with him at the time of his refuge in Mecca a great quantity of these (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 627).

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 300

5 *Ibid.*, p. 388.

6 Āsaf Khān's cargo on his return from Mecca included a herd of Arab horses of the finest breed (*ibid.*, p. 289). Rajab Khudāwand Khān's Arab horse was called Tayyār, lit. Great Flier (*HD*, Vol. II, p. 487).

7 His greatest regret was over the loss of an autograph copy of *al-Mishkāṭ* by Waliu'd-Dīn Khatib a't-Tabrizi which he had purchased at Mecca from the author at great cost and with difficulty (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 289).

under the charge of Khwāja Salāmat al-Maghribī, a big merchant, with a complete list of books to be brought from there.¹

The love and fondness of books was not confined to the nobility only. Saints, scholars and other learned men are also known to have made rich collections. 'Aqil ibn 'Abdu'llāh Bā-'Alawī, a Ḥadramī Sayyid of Tarim (d. A.H. 1022) had collected, while in India, many fine and rare books and took them with him on his return. A saint of repute, Shaikh ibn 'Abdu'llāh, died and buried in Daulatabad in A.H. 1041, is also reported to have collected a number of fine books.² Men interested in learning and scholarship obtained books through personal requests³ or presents, or there was exchange of books between scholars and authors, or the authors used to send their books to their counterparts in the other countries for opinion and propogation as well. For this reason, the important works of scholars in one country were available in other country, within a reasonable time.⁴ Copies of the works of scholars or news of their activities in teaching, etc., such as for example in the case of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir a'l-'Aidarūs, a great Indian writer of the 16th-17th centuries, reached cities in Ḥadramaut and Yamen and even to Mecca.⁵

That the Indian scholars or new settlers in India and their counterparts or kinsmen in the foreign countries as also chiefs and kings were in correspondence with each other is obvious and also known from works like that of 'Alī Ibn Ma'sūm, al-Muḥibbī and others. Another important subject of communication was requisition of religious decree (*fatwā*) in intricate cases and complicated matters : For example, it is said in respect of a Yamani savant of Zabīd that such communications used to be addressed to him from India also.⁶ These communications usually took place in Arabic, the lingua-franca of the day. As a matter of fact, a number of versified communications in Arabic comprising or containing praise-poems from Mecca, Madina and other cities to 'Alī Ibn Ma'sūm and his father Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad at Hyderabad and their

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 641. The ship carrying the consignment of books met with a minor mishap at Ghogha, not far from Cambay, and some books were lost.

2 *KA*, Vol. II, p. 236; Vol. III, p. 114.

3 The information about recent compositions must have reached more quickly through pilgrims and travellers.

4 More copies of books from a copy thus received or otherwise procured would be made. For example, a'sh-Shillī's Gloss on one of his own works was copied, according to his own statement, by many people, besides Egypt and Yemen, in India also (*KA*, Vol. III, p. 337).

5 He has mentioned how scholars from within the country and abroad sent to him poems on the occasion of the completion of the Course of *Saḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī* and has quoted the Arabic poem of Allāma Husain a'z-Zāhir a'z-Zabīdī received from Yemen (*NS*, p. 453).

6 Along with other places and the Holy Cities, Ḥadramaut, Africa, etc. (*NS*, p. 308).

replies in similar vein, some with dates, have been mentioned and quoted by the son in his work.¹

Specific mention may, however, be made to a multi-linguist scholar settled in Mecca, who used to compose letters for others in different languages: Shaikh Muḥammad ibn-Ḥusain a's-Samarqandī who died in A.H. 996 is reported by a contemporary Indian author 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-'Aidarūs, to have written not less than 1090 letters on behalf of the elite of Medina in half a dozen languages including Hindī.²

Attempt has been made in the above lines to bring into focus the nature and extent of contacts that existed between India and the Arabic-speaking countries, on the basis of information pierced together almost exclusively from Arabic sources, mostly foreign. Apart from this, information could be gathered from these works on many other aspects which would throw light on and enable to comprehend the impact these contacts had, in various fields of the religious, cultural and social life of the countries concerned in matters for example, of religious beliefs and saintly orders, system of education, administration, trade, customs, dress,³ etc. But for a proper evaluation of this impact and understanding of its contributory factors, it is very necessary to have full facts, as preserved in Arabic works, most of which, as pointed out in the beginning—even those in print—are not available in the first-rate libraries of India. If all such works, whether in manuscripts or in print, could be searched for, located and looked into thoroughly, they are sure to provide much new information on various aspects of Indian history and culture in the past millenium.

1 *SA*, pp. 10, 32, 36, 134, 158, 180, 237, 239-41, 351-52, 356, 357, 359, 362, 363, 424, 468, 469-70, 491, etc.

2 *NS*, p. 442. It is difficult to determine what particular Indian language this was.

3 For example, imagine Gujarat Minister Āsaf Khān in Indian dress in Mecca, Turkish dress in Constantinople and Arabian dress in India, (*HD*, Vol. I, pp. 290, 386).

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

By

P. H. JOSHI, Baroda

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No. 1, June, 1972

Michell, George : The Saṅgameśvara Temple of Patadkal

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Vol. XXVI, No. 1, June 1973

Dobbins, Walton : History from Coins

Anas, Mohammad : Al-Beruni's Mathematics and Astronomy

No 2, September 1973

Jarzebowski, T. : Astronomical Works of Al-Beruni

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Vol. XXI, Part II, 1967

Nayar, S. K. : A Short History of Malayalam Language & Literature

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Vol. XXII, Part I, 1968

Nayar, S. K. : Tamil and Malayalam

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Part II, 1969

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Vol. XLIV, No. 1, January 1973

Vahiduddin, Syed : Kant's Approach to Psychic Experience and the Problem of Posthumus Existence-1

No. 2, February 1973.

Pratap Chandra : Caste Origins and the Social Contract Theory in the Pali Canon.

Vahiduddin, Syed : Kant's Approach to Psychic Experience and the Problem of Posthumus Existence-2

Bhāratiya Sāhitya, K. M. Hindi & Bhashavijnana Vidyapith, Agra Vishvavidyalaya, Agra

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Rajagopalan, N. V. : Vākya tathā Vākyaṛtha (Hindi)

Upreti, Murarilal : Bhāṣā Sarvekṣaṇa (Hindi)

Sharma, Rama Vilasa : Aitihāsika Bhāṣā-Vijñāna aura Bhārata (Hindi)

Bhavan's Journal, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7

Vol. XX, No. 2, August 19, 1973

Khanolkar, Savitribai : Saints of Maharashtra-2—Sant Jñāneśvara-2.

Mataji Nirmala Devi : Sahaja Yoga—A Unique Discovery

No. 3, September 2, 1973

Khanolkar, Savitribai : Saints of Maharashtra-2—Sant Jñāneśvarā-2

Swami Rama Tirtha : Our National Dharma

Radhakrishnan S. : What Buddha Taught Us

No. 4, September 16, 1973

Khanolkar, Savitribai : Saints of Maharashtra-3—Sant Nāmadeva

Swami Shraddhananda : Spiritual Achievement of Sant Tukārāma

Sarkar, A. C. : Prāṇa in the Upaniṣads

No. 5, September 30, 1973

Khanolkar, Savitribai : Saints of Maharashtra-4—Sant Janābūi

Swamigal, Sri-La-Sri Pandrimalai : Sri Anjaneya

No. 6, October 1973

Buch, J. C. : Bhaktakavi Dayārāma and His Garbi

Ramanujacharya, G. : The Author of Pañcatantra Learns English

Khanolkar, Savitribai : Sant Ekanātha

No. 8, November 11, 1973

Khanolkar, Savitribai : Saints of Maharashtra-7—Senā Nhāvi

Balakrishnan, Purasu : Kālidāsa, a National and World Poet

Rao, Nagaraja : Fruits of Vedānta

Takle, G. D. : Ganapaty Sastri, the Discoverer of Bhāsa

No. 9, November 25, 1973

Kbholkar, Saritribai : Saints of Maharashtra-8—Chokhāmēlā

Thiagarajan, K. : Alvars, the Poet Saints of South India

No. 10, December 9, 1973

Khanolkar, Savitribai : Saints of Maharashtra-9—Kānhopātrā

Iyengar, B. K. S. : Pathway to Salvation

No. 11, December 23, 1973

Khanolkar, Savitribai : Saints of Maharashtra-10—Gorā Kumbhāra
Perez, Noelle : Yoga & Bible

Bijdragen, Tot de Taat, La'nd-En-Volkenkunde, Martinus, Nijhoff

Deel 129, 1973

Atmodjo, K & Sukarto, M. M. : The Second Colophon of the Nāgara-
kṛtāgama

*Bulletin of the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Ramakrishna Institute of
Culture, Gol Park, Calcutta*

Vol. XXIV, No 4, April 1973

De Chaudhuri, H. K. : The Indian Attitude to Life

No 11, November 1973

Chatterji, Pritibhushan : The Existential Approach to Ethics and Religion

Epigraphia Indica, Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi

Vol. XXXVIII, Part 1, January 1969

Sircar, D. C. : New Delhi Inscription of Aśoka

Kolte, V. B. : Two Grants of Rāṣṭrakūta Indra III from Vajirkheda,
Śaka 836

Gai, G. S. : Three Inscriptions of Ramagupta

Part II, April, 1969

Kolte, V. B. : Pauni Plates of Pravarasena II

Dixit, M. G. : Two Charters of Bhanushena, Year 30

Ramesha, K. V. & Subrahmanyam, V. S. : Uttareśvara Plates of Kakatiya
Rudramba, Śaka 1211

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No. 6 (160).

Chandavaker, Pashkar : Bhavai—A Type of Folk-Drama of Gujarat

No. 7 (161)

Mande, Pabhakar : Occult or Mystic (Magical) Practices Related to
Agricultural Life and Other Rites

No. 9 (163)

Sen-Gupta, Sankar : A Study on Gaṇeśa—A Distinct Member of the
Durgā Family in Bengal

Murthy, A. Satyanarayan : A Note on the Position of Women Among the
Agency Area of Andhra Pradesh

No. 11 (165)

Nair, P. Thankappan : Peacock—National Bird of India

Chandarovaker, Pushkar : Folk Games of Cattle-Breeders of the Baroda Hills of Gujarat

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 Hishida, Kunio : Śāntarākṣita's Criticism on Manas
 Harikai, Kunio : The Function of Mantras in the Mīmāṃsā School
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 Macdermott, A. Charlene : Mr. Ruegg on Ratnakīrti.
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Esteller, A. : The Text-Critical Tenor of Rgv. I. 164

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REVIEWS

Sudamaṣaṇacariu of Muni Nayanandi : Edited with Introduction (in Hindī), Hindī Translation and Sanskrit Gloss etc. by Dr. HIRALAL JAIN, Prakrit Jain Institute Research Publication Series Vol. III. Published by Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Vaishali. Royal 8vo., pp. 48+322; Vaishali, 1970; Price Rs. 10.60.

The late Dr. HIRALAL JAIN has rendered distinctive service to Apabhraṃśa literature. He discovered a number of Apabhraṃśa works; he wrote monographs on some of them; and, besides helping others to bring out critical editions of some of them, he himself edited, often with translations in Hindī, nearly a dozen Apabhraṃśa works, most of them being brought to light for the first time.

Here Dr. JAIN has edited for the first time the *Sudamaṣaṇacariu*. The Apabhraṃśa text is critically constituted based on four Mss., the variants from which are duly noted. In presenting the text short and long *e* and *o* (with special types in Nāgarī), and *anusvāra* and *anunāsika* are clearly indicated.

The Introduction in Hindī is exhaustive. It gives details about the Mss., the Author, the contents of the work and their earlier sources, language and style, metrical patterns etc. Four Mss. are used for this edition. They are all dated in the Saṃvat era, ranging from 1517 to 1605. Some of them have more and some of them less marginal notes, and they fall in two groups. The Ms. *Gha* was written in Saṃvat 1598 in Narele, near Gwalior, during the regime of Sultan Shaha Alam.

The author is Muni Nayanandi, the pupil of Māṇikyanandi Traividya. He has given some details about his spiritual predecessors. He was a famous monk and was highly honoured for his *Sudamaṣaṇacariu*. He composed this work in Dhārā, in the Mahāvihāra attached to a Jaina temple, in the year 1100 of the Vikrama era (i.e., 1043 A.D.) during the reign of Paramūra Bhojadeva (A.D. 1020-47), the famous patron of learning.

The story of Sudarśana, narrated here in 12 Sandhis, is well-known in Jaina literature. On the one hand, it elaborates the motif of the frailty of a passionate woman and, on the other, illustrates the miraculous efficacy of the Pañca-namaskāra. The editor has put together parallels for it from different layers of Indian literature. His analysis of metrical patterns, so richly used in this work, is very useful.

The critical text with various readings in the footnotes is followed by translation into Hindī, Kaṭavaka to Kaṭavaka, which is very helpful to the reader in understanding the Apabhraṃśa text clearly. Then are given Glosses

plenty of which are found in the Ms. *Ka* and some in the Ms. *Kha*. Some times they are in Sanskrit but often with an admixture of Hindī and Gujarātī. Lastly, there is the Śabdakośa of important words with meanings and references.

This edition brings to light an important Apabhraṃśa text equipped with necessary accessories for its study. It maintains the high critical standard of other Apabhraṃśa publications of Dr. JAIN, a pioneer in the field of Apabhraṃśa.

A. N. UPADHYE

Amarakośa : with the unpublished South Indian Commentaries *Amarapadavivṛti* of Liṅgayasūrin and the *Amarapadapārijāta* of Mallinātha, critically edited with Introduction by Prof. A. A. Rāmanāthan. The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras 20, India; 1971.

Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī and Amarasimha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana or Amarakośa formed the two major bed-rocks on which the scholarship of an ancient Indian Pandit was founded. No third work excels the two in popularity. The students who did not wish to pursue a detailed study of Vyākaraṇa may leave Aṣṭādhyāyī and turn to easier grammatical works and manuals but Amarakośa could never be neglected, for, it has been the basic primer for learning Sanskrit and becoming proficient in understanding Sanskrit literary works and Sanskrit commentaries on different branches of arts and sciences. Amara is said to have lived sometime around the fourth century A.D. There is no evidence to disprove the tradition about his having lived in the court of King Vikramāditya i.e. Candragupta II of the Gupta period. Except for the fact that Amara's work was translated into Chinese by Guṇarāta of Ujjayinī in the 6th century A.D. very little literary evidence is available for determining his date.

Prof. A. A. Rāmanāthan's work 'Amarakośa' with the unpublished South Indian Commentaries *Amarapadavivṛti* of Liṅgayasūrin and *Amarapadapārijāta* of Mallinātha is an important addition to the already existing bulk of a number of commentaries on Amarakośa. The editor has planned the work of publishing South Indian Commentaries on Amara in two parts. The first part contains the two commentaries *Vivṛti* and *Pārijāta* on the first two Kāṇḍas of Amara. The second part which will be out soon will also contain, on the third Kāṇḍa the commentary of Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya.

Prof. Rāmanāthan has consulted twenty-five manuscripts (twenty-two palm-leaf and four paper manuscripts) for *Vivṛti* and four (all palm-leaf) manuscripts for *Pārijāta*. He has given a brief description of the manuscripts. In the introduction to his work Prof. Rāmanāthan discusses problems like the time of Amara, works written earlier than Amarakośa viz., *Trikāṇḍa* of Bhāguri, *Utpalini* of Vyāḍi, *Śabdārṇava* of Vācaspati and *Samsārāvarta* of Vikramāditya.

He briefly describes a few variants in the text of Amara and refers to some spurious verses which have crept into the text of Amara. He describes in greater detail the two commentaries Vivṛti and Pārijāta and their method of explaining Amara's words.

The commentators have an easy means of explaining the words of Amara for which they go back to a root and bring out a conjectural meaning. They are not alone in this method of derivation for they are in good company with Śākaṭāyana and Yāska. Sometimes the phonetic similarity between Amara's words and the roots pressed into service for explaining them is invented (cp. the explanation of the word *ṣaṇḍā* given by Vivṛti, p. 56—*Ṣaṇḍatīti ṣaṇḍā/ṣaṇḍa maṇḍāyām gatau ṣaṇḍatīti vā ṣaṇḍa ṣaṇḍi gatau*). Mallinātha is more convincing in his derivations, for, he quotes earlier authorities, gives alternative explanations and discusses readings of Amara's words. Both the commentators give Telugu equivalents of Amara's words or their synonyms.

Prof. Rāmanāthan has taken great pains in editing Amara's work with the two commentaries. It is not pertinent to discuss or point out what the editor should have done in editing the two commentaries. However when Prof. Rāmanāthan has embarked on an important work of editing the South Indian Commentaries on Amara's work the following points may be noted :

1. Although the editor has consulted twenty nine manuscripts, we do not get a clear idea, from his brief description of the manuscripts, of the nature, the time and the interrelation if any, of the manuscripts concerned. The editor has not pointed out the principles on which he selects or rejects readings from mss. We have no means of knowing and comparing different readings for the one selected by the editor nor knowing the adscripts in the manuscripts. He has referred to some spurious verses creeping into the text of Amara—and some of these verses are put in brackets on the testimony of the commentators—, such verses need a detailed notice, with evidences from other commentaries earlier than Liṅgayasūrin and Mallinātha.

2. Both the commentators hailed from Āndhra. As their mother-tongue was Telugu, they naturally refer to Telugu equivalents of Amara's words and their synonyms. It would have been interesting to examine and analyse them from a linguistic point of view.

3. Prof. Rāmanāthan seems to accept the traditional view that Bhāguri, Vyāḍi, Vāṣpaṭi and Vikramāditya were predecessors of Amara. Recent scholarly opinion is divided on this point. It considers Bhāguri and Vyāḍi, the grammarians, as different from Bhāguri and Vyāḍi the writers lexicographical works. Bhāguri seems to have been in Patañjali's mind when he says (on Pāṇini 4. 1-1.) that some grammarians enjoin the affix 'ṭap' for stems ending

in consonants. This is attested by the famous verse 'Vaṣṭi bhāgurirallopamavā-pyorupasargayoḥ | etc.' quoted by Kāśikākāra, Jinendra-buddhi, Rāmaçandra, Bhaṭṭoji Dīxita and Jagadīśa. It will be interesting to compare the grammatical principles fathered on Bhāguri and particularly Vyāḍi with their lexicographical statements found in the early commentaries of Amarakoṣa. Vyāḍi the famous grammarian and author of Saṁgraha and a paribhāṣa-work called Paribhāṣa-sūçana was a prolific writer. A number of lexicographical statements are fathered on him under different names like Utpala, Utpalinī, Utpalamālā, Bṛhadutpalinī by writers of grammatical and lexicographical treatises. Vyāḍi's lexicon was better known as Utpalinī. A discussion on gender formed part of Utpalinī. It is not necessary to understand Utpalinī and Līṅgānuśāsana as two different works of Vyāḍi nor is it necessary to assume different authorship for Līṅgānuśāsana on the plea that Vyāḍi and following him Patañjali would not like to formulate rules on gender because they were supporters of the dictum 'līṅgamaśiṣyam lohāśrayatvāllīṅgasya |'. The arguments advanced (J. A. O. S. 1967 p. 39 ff.) on the basis of Hemaçandra quoting. Vyāḍi in Abhidhāna-çintāmaṇi on 'daśabhūmiga' (II. 147) and referring to thirty-four Jātakas cannot be said to be decisive for, the concept of ten 'Bhūmis' and some earlier form of the Pāli Jātaka were known earlier than the Mahāyāna texts. However this line of argument needs further proofs. Prof. Rāmanāthan's opinion on this point would have been welcome. Vāçaspati's Śabdārṇava needs a similar examination for he has been quoted in Uṇādisūtravṛtti, Siddhāntakaumudī and Tattvabodhinī (on Siddhāntakaumudī).

4. A list of authors and works cited by Mallinātha in his Pārijāta is given by the editor but we are not informed about the nature of the works or their times.

We hope that Prof. Rāmanāthan will discuss some of the problems connected with Amara and Koṣa literature in general.

The excellent printing and good paper add to the importance and usefulness of Prof. Rāmanāthan's commendable work.

J. M. SHUKLA

Anārkalī : A New Sanskrit Play in Ten Acts by kavi-Kokila, Sakalalakā-kalāpa, Vidvat-Kavīndra, Padmabhūṣaṇa DR. V. RAGHAVAN ; published by the Sanskrit Raṅga, Madras, September, 1972 ; Price Rs. 3-50 ; pp. xvi + 92.

The twentieth century has witnessed a growth of considerable Sanskrit literature in various branches, viz. drama, prose, poetry, historical and biographical writings, short stories, novels etc. It is well-known that the Sanskrit drama traces its history to an antique past and "the modern Sanskrit drama or

the drama in the twentieth century is the latest of the links in the chain of development of the mighty Sanskrit drama" (Usha Satya Vrat, *Sanskrit Dramas of the Twentieth Century*, Volume I, Delhi, 1971, p. xiii) and we have eminent playwrights like Dr. Raghavan, Y. Mahalinga Sastri, MM. Haridāsa Siddhānta Vāgiśa, Mulshanker Maneklal Yajnik, MM. Mathura Nath Shastri, Nirpaje Bhima Bhatt, Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, S. B. Velankar and others (*vide* Usha Satya Vrat, *op. cit.*, pp. ix-x ; Index No. II, pp. 436 ff).

As is well-known, Dr. V. Raghavan is a brilliant scholar, an incisive critic, an original thinker and a creative writer (*vide* Usha Satya Vrat, "Dr. V. Raghavan as a Playwright," in "*Anārkalī*", A Souvenir published by the Sanskrit Raṅga, Madras, on the occasion of presenting of *Anārkalī* in connection with the International Sanskrit Conference, Delhi, March, 1972, p. 9). He has also contributed to the theatre-movement in the last three decades (S. S. Janaki, "Dr. V. Raghavan's contribution to Drama," *op. cit.*, p. 13). He is the author of the nine plays, viz. 1. Vijayaṅkā, 2. Vikāṇitambā, 3. Avantisundarī, 4. Vimuktiḥ, 5. Lakṣmīsvayamvaraḥ, 6. Rāsaliḷā, 7. Kāmaśuddhiḥ, 8. Pratāparudravijayam (*vide* Usha Satya Vrat, *Sanskrit Dramas of the Twentieth Century*, Volume I, pp. 152-159; 193-199 ; 322-333 ; 423-430) and 9. *Anārkalī*, the play under review—which was presented at the First International Sanskrit Conference held in Delhi under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India and UNESCO on Thursday, March, 30, 1972, at the Mavalankar Auditorium, Delhi and the present reviewer had the good occasion of seeing it staged. The play under review is a *nūtanāṇi prakaraṇam* which was written by the author in 1931 (Preface, p. IX). Regarding the birth of the play the author observes : "it was the same 'season' in my creative writing which gave birth also to *Vimukti*.....and the *Pratāparudravijaya* or *Vaidyanāthaviḍambana*.....It was written under an urge and enthusiasm which had possessed me, so to say and completed in two or three days." (Preface, p. IX). "Before it was taken up for its *premiere*" the play was revised (Preface, p. IX). It is quite well-known that the story of *Anārkalī* that has come down in tradition is a tragedy but the present playwright has metamorphosed it into a happy-ending play.

In the present play (*prakaraṇa*) the main idea emphasised is the "synthesis and reconciliation of opposing and divergent things. With this aim he (*i.e.*, Dr. Raghavan) has given prominence to the trend of times seen in the field of religion. Under the lead of emperor Akbar there was the meeting together of the different faiths and Akbar started a Parliament of Religions, the *Din-i-Ilahi*. The author removes the contradiction in the character of Akbar who is alleged to sentence *Anārkalī* to death. In allowing Prince Salim to marry the slave girl, an egalitarian reconciliation has been achieved. As in religion and philosophy the author has brought together the Hindustani and Carnatak schools of music

and dance through Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, a musician of Akbar's court who hailed from Mysore. By using Sanskrit for a story of Mughul court he has brought together two apparently incongruous things. Naturally a study by the author of a considerable amount of writings on the history, life and social conditions of the Mughul period including manuscripts of Sanskrit writings has gone into the setting of the background and the construction of the story and the plot of the play." (Anārkalī, A Souvenir, p. 19).

"The characters introduced and the ideas and words figuring in their roles and speeches are, every one of them, based on records in print or manuscript" (Preface, p. X) and the Bibliography (pp. xiii-xvi) is a testimony thereof. There are also two plates of Indian paintings (i) "a picture of the coming together and the dialogue of Abul Fazl and the followers of the various faiths" from the Library of the University of Chicago and (ii) a picture of "Jehangir meeting and having a dialogue with a Hindu Sadhu" from the Musée Guimet, Paris. (Preface, pp. X, XI). The first two productions of the play were on September, 1, 1968 and on January, 7, 1969 at the Museum Theatre, Madras. The third production, wherein the author himself played the role of the *sūtradhāra* (Vide Plate No. 1), was on 30th March, 1972 on the occasion of the First International Sanskrit Conference held in Delhi. And it was for this third production that Dr. Raghavan wrote a special *prastāvanā* (pp. 88. ff).

The purpose of the review is not to offer a detailed study of the play ; however one point may be mentioned here viz. from a linguistic point of view i.e. linguistic change and borrowing. The play has absorbed several non-Sanskrit words, e.g. खिलाफ़ा: (p. 8), खानेनाम् (p. 11), etc. with graphemic representation of non-Sanskrit sounds : क, ज in the above examples.

The play which is written in a pleasant and lucid style, is an eloquent testimony to the fact that Sanskrit is not only a living language but also dynamic with the tendency to absorb non-Sanskrit words. (vide Kantawala S. G., Loan-words in Twentieth Century Sanskrit Literature,—A paper presented at the seminar on "Twentieth Century Sanskrit Literature" organised by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay in December, 1972).

The learned author and the publisher of the play under review deserve our heartiest congratulations and we look forward to have many more literary creative productions from the pen of Dr. V. Raghavan.

S. G. KANTAWALA

OBITUARY

Dr. Hiralal Jain

The sad demise of Dr. Hiralal Jain on 13-3-1973 came like a shock to his numerous students, friends, colleagues and to scholars all over the country. His absence now has created a gap in the ranks of dedicated scholars working in the field of Indic studies, especially in some of its neglected branches like the history of Jainism, Jaina dogmatics and Apabhraṃśa language and literature.

Hiralal was born at Gangai, Dt. Narasingpur (M.P.) on September 18, 1898. After finishing his primary schooling in his village, he covered his Middle School and High School education at Gadarwara and Narasingpur in 1916. He joined the Robertson College, Jabalpur, where he completed his College course in 1920; and, because of his unique distinction in Sanskrit, he was awarded the Kailashchandra Datta Memorial Medal and Government Scholarship for his post-graduate studies. He continued his studies in the Agra College, Agra (1920-21) and Muir Central College, Allahabad (1921-22), and Law College, Allahabad (1921-22). Thus he was both an M.A. and LL.B. of the Allahabad University in 1922. He secured the highest position in Sanskrit at his M.A., and consequently he was given a Research Scholarship of the U.P. Government (1922-25).

As Hiralal distinguished himself equally well both at M.A. and LL.B., the choice of further profession was difficult to make by himself. He was advised, rather induced, by the late Rai Bahaddur Hiralal (then the Deputy Commissioner in that Division) that he should go in for the educational service.

In July 1925, Hiralal was appointed an Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the King Edward College (now Vidarbha Mahāvidyālaya), Amraoti. He worked there for 19 years. Then he was transferred, in 1944, to the Morris College (now Nāgapura Mahāvidyālaya), Nagpur. In addition to the duties of a Professor, he was shouldering the burden of the Hostel Warden. He secured the D. Litt. degree of the Nagpur University in 1948. He became Professor, and sometime worked also as Principal of that College. He retired from Government service in 1954.

Invited by the Government of Bihar, he took over as Director of the newly founded Post-graduate and Research Institute of Prākṛits and Jainology in December 1955; and the Institute started functioning at Muzaffarpur in July, 1956. This Institute made arrangements for instruction at M.A. and for guidance of research for Ph.D. in the subjects of Prākṛits and Jainology. After putting the Institute on a permanent foundation, he relinquished that post much

against the wish of the authorities in the Government of Bihar. At the earnest pressure of the prominent members of the University of Jabalpur, he took over, in July 1961, as the Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit. After working there for about 8 years, he finally retired in 1969.

Hiralal was brought up in religious atmosphere of a pious family; and he had received much inspiration from his father, Modi Balchandaji, who led a life of pious, Śrāvaka and was much interested in the study of Jaina literature and social activities. Modi Balchandaji had close contacts with the late Pt. Nathuram Premi of the Hindi Grantha Ratnākara, Bombay. The late Barrister Jugamandar Lal Jaini, Chief Justice, High Court, Indore, was preparing, in collaboration with the late Br. Shital Prasadaji, an English Translation of the *Gōṃmaṭasāra*. But on account of the sad demise of the late Devendra Kumar of Arrah, a part of the press-copy was lost. Hiralal was invited by J. L. Jaini to help him to complete it, and this he did quite successfully in 1923. In 1924, at the request of Rai Bahaddur Hiralal, Hiralal helped him by supplying a good deal of material about the MSS. collections at Karanja (Dt. Akola). This material has been published in the *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in C. P. Berar*, Nagpur 1926. This catalogue brought to light a good deal of new material about Jaina Literature, especially about the Apabhraṃśa literature. Hiralal's contribution to the Introduction bore evidence to his research capability.

As a Professor, Hiralal not only discharged his duties to his students but also used his spare time for studies in the fields of Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa. He combined in himself the depth of traditional learning and width of modern scholarship. He never linked to live in the ivory tower of an academician. He kept himself in touch with a number of Jaina institutions and academic bodies. He was the President of the Digambara Jaina Paṛiṣat at Khandva. He was elected thrice as the President of the Section of Prākṛit and Jainism, All-India Oriental Conference, at Varanasi in 1944, at Aligad in 1966 and at Jadavpur in 1970.

Right from the inception of the Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Delhi (then in Calcutta and Varanasi) and Jaina Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣaka Saṅgha, Sholapur, Dr. Hiralal was associated with them. He worked along with his younger colleague, Dr. A. N. Upadhye, as the General Editor of Mūrtidevī Granthamālā and Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā. In the former more than 60 works in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa, Pāli, Tamil and Kannada are published and in the latter nearly 30 works in Sanskrit, Prākṛit (along with Hindi Translation) and English have appeared. Many of them are brought to light for the first time; and some of them are equipped with learned Introductions of great research value. It was at the request of the General Editors of Mūrtidevī Granthamālā that the authorities of the Jñānapīṭha took over the responsibility of conducting the Māṇikacandra D. J. Granthamālā and continued bringing out unpublished

works in Sanskrit and Prākṛit as before : thus one of the last desires of Pt. Premiji could be fulfilled. It was due to Dr. Hiralal's special efforts that the publication of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama-Dhavalā* was transferred to the J. S. S. Saṅgha, Sholapur, with a view to continue publishing such of the volumes as are no more available. These Granthamālās received his expert advice to the last ; and through them he served the cause of Prākṛit and Jaina literature in a spirit of dedication. For some years he was also on the Editorial Board of the Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara (Jaina Antiquary), Arrah (Bihar).

It is necessary that an exhaustive list of his books and papers etc. is given here for referential purposes :

Books :

1. *Jaina-śilālekha-saṅgraha*, Part I, Devanāgarī transcript of the inscriptions from the Epigraphia Carnatica II (Revised ed.) along with Introduction etc. in Hindi, Māṇikacandra D. J. Granthamālā, Bombay 1928
2. *Sāvayadhamma-dohā*, Apabhraṁśa Text, with Intro. and Translation etc. in Hindi, Karanja 1932
3. *Pāhuḍa-dohā*, Apabhraṁśa Text with Intro. and Translation in Hindi etc., Karanja 1933
4. *Nāyakumāracarīi* of Puṣpadanta, Apabhraṁśa Text critically edited and an Exhaustive study of it in the Introduction, Karanja 1933. Second ed. revised with the addition of the Hindi Translation and Introduction in Hindi, Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Delhi 1972
5. *Karaṇḍacarīi* of Kanakāmara, Apabhraṁśa Text with Intro. and Translation in English, Karanja 1934. Revised 2nd ed., with the addition of complete Hindi Translation, Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi 1964
6. *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* with the *Dhavalā* Commentary, in 16 Volumes, published by the Jaina Sāhityoddhāraka Fund, Vidisha. The First Volume appeared in 1939 and the Sixteenth Volume in 1959.
7. *Jaina Itihāsakā eka Vilupta Adhyāya*, a booklet in Hindi, 1944
8. *Siddhānta Samikṣā*, in Hindi, Parts I-III, Bombay 1945
9. *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛtimē Jaina Dharmakā Yogadāna*. These are four lectures delivered by Dr. H. L. Jain, and published by the Madhya Pradesh Shasana Sahitya Parishad, Bhopal 1962. This has been translated into Marathi by Prof. J. D. Bhomaj, Sholapur 1971, and also into Kannada by Shri A. Mirji, Sholapur 1971.
10. *Mayaṇaparājayacarīi* of Harideva, Apabhraṁśa Text with Hindi Translation and Intro. in English and Hindi, Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi 1962

11. *Sugandhadaśamī-kathā* in five languages, Apabhramśa, Sanskrit, Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi, with an Intro. etc., Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi 1966
12. *Kahakosu* of Śrīcandra, Apabhramśa Text and analysis of contents in Hindi, Prākṛit Text Society, Ahmedabad 1969
13. *Sudamaṣaṇacariū* of Nayanandi, Apabhramśa Text and Hindi Translation and detailed Intro., Vaishali 1970
14. *Sudarśanaacarita*, Sanskrit Text with an Intro. Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi 1970
15. *Jasaharacariū*, Apabhramśa Text, English Intro. etc. ed. by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Karanja 1931; 2nd ed. along with Hindi Translation by Dr. H. L. Jain, Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭhā, Varanasi 1973
16. *Vīrajiṇīmadacariū*, Life of Mahāvīra compiled from Apabhramśa sources, along with an Intro. on the life and times of Mahāvīra. To be published by the Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Delhi

Then there is given below a list of his papers, articles etc. dealing with historical, doctrinal, literary and general topics and published in different Journals.

HISTORICAL:

1. Periods of Jaina History, a paper contributed to the Jaina Gazette, some time about 1925.
2. Historical Prefaces contributed to some of the Volumes brought out by the late Br. Shital Prasadaji on Jaina Relics in different parts of India.
3. A Jaina Inscription of Papaura, contemporary with Parimala, dated Saṃvat 1237, ed. and Trans, Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Vol. (?), pp. 273-78.
4. Prefabricated Houses in Ancient India, (?), pp. 31-4.
5. Some Fresh Light on the Dhārāśiva Caves and the Origin of the Śilāhāra Dynasty, Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, XVI, i-ii, 1935
6. Political Divisions of India during the 8th century, Indian Culture, XI, 4, April-June 1945
7. Date of Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa, Nagpur University Journal, Vol. VI, pp. 50-54, December, 1946
8. Age of the First Tīrthaṅkara, Voice of Ahimsā, March-April 1957
9. A Contemporary Ode to Candragupta, and a Further Note on the Same, Madhyabhārati, Vol. I, July 1962, pp. 1-23 and Vol. II, pp. 239-42 Jabalpur, 1964
10. Identification of Vardhamānapura, Madhyabhārati No. 3, Jabalpur 1965

11. Location of Vardhamānapura, Prof. M. Hiriyanna Birth Centenary Commemoration Volume, University of Mysore, Mysore 1972

DOCTRINAL :

1. Siddhānta aura unakā Adhyayana, a pamphlet in Hindi, Amraoti 1942; see also the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol IV, Intro. pp. 1 ff., Dec. 1941
2. Digambara aura Śvetāmbara, All-India Grial Conference, Varanasi 1945
3. What Jainism stands for, World Pacific Conference, Calcutta 1949
4. This is Jainism, Seminar on Jainism and World Peace, Delhi 1956

LITERARY :

1. Apabhraṃśa Literature, Allahabad University Journal, Vol. I, pp. 157-85, Allahabad 1925
2. Jayadhavalā Tīkā, Specimen Print, pp. 1-20, Scheme of publication, Bhelsa 1934
3. Svayambhū and his Two Poems in Apabhraṃśa, Nagpur University Journal, No. 1, pp. 70-84, Dec. 1935
4. Paiśāci Traits in the language of Kharoṣṭri-Inscriptions from Chinese Turkestan, Nagpur University Journal, No. 7, pp. 40-45, Dec. 1941
5. Some Recent Finds of Apabhraṃśa Literature, Nagpur University Journal, No. 8, pp. 81-92, Nagpur 1942
6. Śivabhūti and Śivārya, Nagpur University Journal, No. 9, Nagpur 1943
7. Traces of an Old Metrical Prākṛit Grammar, Bhārata Kaumudī, pp. 315-22, Allahabad 1945 (?)
8. Apabhraṃśa Bhāṣā aura Sāhitya, Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Patrikā, Vol. 50, Nos. 3-4, pp. 100-21, Varanasi 1945
9. Parallelism of Tales between Apabhraṃśa and Western Literature (Comparative Study of Sugandhadaśamī-kathā and Cendrella), All-India O. Conference, Annamalai; 1956; Journal of the University of Bihar, II, pp. 1-5, 1956
10. The Rāyaṇasecharīkahā and Karakaṇḍacariū as the source of the Padmāvata, Madhyabhārati. Vol. II, pp. 27-46, Jabalpur 1963
11. Yaśodharacarita of Vādirāja : A Review, Madhyabhārati II, Jabalpur 1964
12. Saṃskṛtakā Sammāna : A leaflet perhaps published from Nagpur

GENERAL

1. Presidential Address, All-India Oriental Conference, Prākṛit and Jainism Section, Benares 1944

2. Bhagavān Mahāvīra : Vaishali, Delivered at the Vaishali Mahotsava, 1955

Then Dr. Hiralal has contributed a number of articles in Hindi to the two Jaina Journals, namely, Anekānta and Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara. Their titles, which are reproduced in Nāgarī, are sufficiently indicative of their contents. They are listed below chronologically :

Anekānta, Delhi :

- (१) प्राकृत पञ्चसंग्रह का रचना काल—April 1940
- (२) गोमयसार कर्मकाण्डकी त्रुटिपूर्ति पर विचार—September 1940
- (३) गिरिनगरकी चन्द्रगुफा—Feb.-March 1942
- (४) राष्ट्रकूट नरेश अमोघवर्षकी जैनदीक्षा—June 1942
- (५) आप्तमीमांसा और रत्नकरण्डका भिन्न कर्तृत्व—June 1944
- (६) रत्नकरण्ड श्रावकाचार और आप्तमीमांसाका कर्तृत्व—Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1944
Jan.-Feb.-March 1945
- (७) रत्नकरण्ड और आप्तमीमांसाका एककर्तृत्व असीतक सिद्ध नहीं—Jan.-March 1946
- (८) मनुष्यनीके संजदपदके सम्बंधमें विचारणीय शेष प्रश्न—April 1946
- (९) संजदका बहिष्कार—April 1950 (?)
- (१०) श्रुतकीर्ति और उनकी धर्मपरिक्षा—April 1952
- (११) विरोध और सामंजस्य—September-October 1952
- (१२) कुछ अज्ञात जैनग्रन्थ—December 1952
- (१३) पुरातन जैन साधूओका आदर्श—July 1954
- (१४) असंज्ञी जीवोकी परम्परा—Octo.-Nov. 1954 and Jan. 1955
- (१५) भगवान महावीर और उनकी लोककल्याणकारी संदेश—April 1955

Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, Arrah

- (१) हमारे तीर्थक्षेत्र—March 1939
- (२) समाधितन्त्र—December 1939
- (३) जैनविद्री अर्थात् श्रवणबेलगोल—March 1940
- (४) श्रीमहाधवलामें क्या—June 1940
- (५) सप्तरूपणा-विभागवर्गणा खण्ड विचार—June 1940
- (६) आठवीं शताब्दि से पूर्ववर्ति गणितशास्त्र संबंधी संस्कृत व प्राकृत ग्रन्थोंकी खोज—Dec. 1941
- (७) राष्ट्रकूट नरेश अमोघवर्षकी जैनदीक्षा—June 1942
- (८) क्या तत्त्वार्थसूत्रकार और उनके टीकाकारोंका अभिप्राय एक ही है ?—Dec. 1943
- (९) क्या षट्खण्डागम-सूत्रकार और उनके टीकाकार वीरसेनाचार्यका अभिप्राय एक ही है ?—
June 1944

Hiralal's contributions clearly indicate that he devoted his major attention to two branches of study, namely, first, Apabhraṃśa Language and Literature, and secondly, the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama—Dhavalā*. In the field of Apabhraṃśa, not only he brought to light a number of works from the Karanja collection but also, in co-operation with two elders, the late Pt. Nathuram Premi and Dr. P. L. Vaidya, a great poet like Puṣpadanta and all his three works were rescued from oblivion. A new direction was given to the editing and publication of Apabhraṃśa texts. To the last, Hiralal's interest in Apabhraṃśa continued unabated. To the great satisfaction of Dr. P. L. Vaidya, the first editor of the *Jasaharacarīi*, Hiralal brought out a second edition of it along with the Hindi Translation. His *Vīrajaṇiṃḍacarīi* would be published soon by the Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha.

Hiralal's work on the edition of the *Dhavalā* commentary on the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* is a memorable event, because this text was edited from a single Ms. and it presented many difficulties. But with the help of his colleagues he could complete this work in 16 volumes and it went on for about 20 years. In many respects it was a test of his scholarship and trial of his moral nerves.

The publication of the *Dhavalā* was undertaken under the auspices of a donation made by the late lamented Sheth Sitabrai Laxmichandaji of Bhelsa (Vidisha). All this was not a smooth sailing for Hiralal. It was not so much the academic aspects as the environments that created a number of difficulties in the progress of this work. The sensible Paṇḍitas of the new generation heartily welcomed it; and some of them even offered active co-operation. But a section of them expressed severe opposition. The contention was that to print the scriptures like the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* was a sacrilege, a disrespect of the scriptural knowledge. It was also argued that the house-holder (*Gṛhastha* or *Srāvaka*) is not entitled to read the Siddhānta texts which can be studied only by the monks (who have relinquished the worldly ties). With the progress of the publication this opposition gradually subsided.

But soon there shot up another controversy. In the First Volume, in order to interpret Sūtra No. 93 in a consistent manner, it was felt necessary that a word '*sañjada*' be added on to the available '*sañjadāsañjada*'; but the consequent doctrinal implication disturbed the minds of some Paṇḍitas; and they started saying that such an addition was unjustified. There were sessions of oral discussion, followed by a chain of writings covering replies and counter replies; some of them were published in the form of independent books too. In order to have a conclusive satisfaction, the readings on the palm leaves of the Ms. were got carefully scrutinised, and it was found that the two different Mss. had the word '*sañjada*' proposed to be added by the Editors. To a certain extent, the sensible critics were satisfied.

Smt. Sonabai, wife of Hiralal, was a heart patient and was ailing in bed for nearly eleven years causing lot of anxiety to the family. She passed away in December 1938. Since then Hiralal got himself literally wedded to the *Dhavalā* (studies), and completed it most successfully. We were planning a detailed critical study of the contents of this great work on Karma philosophy, perhaps in a way unique in Indian literature; but he had to shelve it for a number of reasons.

Those who came in personal touch with Dr. Hiralal at Amraoti, Nagpur, Muzaffarpur, Jabalpur and other places testify to his great qualities of head and heart. Nature had bestowed on him a likable personality, and by his austere living he had added moral strength to it. Towards his students he had great attachment, and he was ever ready to help them. His friends had a real friend in him, and to his colleagues his mature advice was often a boon. As colleagues in the common fields of our study, we worked together for nearly forty years on a number of literary projects, and academic differences never affected our personal ties. Dr. Hiralal had a genial temper and a knack for finding solutions under difficult circumstances.

For the last few years, Dr. Hiralal's health was not good. He was a diabetic patient and had heart trouble too. Lately, he had undergone an operation for cataract. Despite indifferent health and medical advice to take complete rest, he tried to extract maximum work from himself during the last few years. He believed that life is worth living only if one works purposefully. Such a strain he could not stand for long; and a quiet end came to this heroic scholar at 6.15 p.m. on March 13, 1973.*

A. N. UPADHYE

Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu

The world of Vedic scholarship is the poorer today for the irreparable loss that it has sustained in the demise of Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu, the Founder-Director of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. He passed away on August 1, 1973, at the P. G. I. Hospital, Chandigarh, after a brief period of illness resulting from an operation for acute piles which he had to undergo about three weeks earlier. However, the cheerfulness and heroic stoicism which he displayed throughout the period of his convalescence, in the face of extreme physical pain, had beguiled many a personal friend and admirer from realising the gravity of his suffering.

* The list of Dr. Hiralal's books and papers may not be all-inclusive. Any supplementary information would be welcome to the author.

Born on September 30, 1897, in the village of Bhera (Dt. Shahpur), now in Pakistan, Chaman Lal, as Vishva Bandhu was known then, had a brilliant scholastic career at his home-town and at Lahore. At the latter place, he was the favourite student of Dr. A. C. Woolner, the Professor of Sanskrit and the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. He passed in 1917, 1919 and 1920, respectively, the B.A. (Hons.), M.A. and Shastri examinations, breaking all previous records. In 1920, he was offered the only scholarship then available for higher studies abroad in the humanities, but he declined it under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's Indian National Movement.

Entering active life in a critical juncture in the history of India, Vishva Bandhu set before himself, primarily, two objectives. *viz.*, the propagation of what is best in Indian culture, and the furthering of textuo-linguistic studies in the Vedic language and literature. The times, surging with national aspirations and the place of action, Punjab, where the teachings of Svami Dayanand had taken deep roots, were most propitious for young Vishva Bandhu to give full vent to his ardent enthusiasm and spirit of service. He organised two institutions, *viz.*, the Dayānanda Brāhma Mahāvidyālaya (1921) and the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute (1924) in order to carry on his academic persuasions. Later, he was also the Director of the D.A.V. College Research Department (1934) and the Vishveshvaranand Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies of the Punjab University (1965) till death. He had also been taking time, throughout his life, to deliver regular lectures on general socio-cultural subjects to receptive audiences. The academic and cultural writings of Vishva Bandhu, as compiled in the Classified Bibliography of his published writings (Hoshiarpur, 1972) would stand testimony to the untiring and ceaseless research and literary work that he had been carrying on for nearly six decades. The said Bibliography documents as many as 25 lexicographical works, 35 critical editions of Sanskrit and Vedic texts, 21 expository and general studies and 25 cultural books, besides nearly 700 research articles, cultural papers, editorials and other allied writings. Of these, a special mention deserves to be made of the monumental *Vedic Word-Concordance* in 16 volumes, the critical edition of the *R̥gveda* with four unpublished commentaries in 8 volumes, the critical edition of the *Atharva-veda* with the *Bhāṣya* of Sāyaṇa in 4 volumes, and the critical edition of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa in 2 volumes. Besides, he has also left a fund of writings, finished or half-finished, which yet remain to be published. The above is, indeed, a record which any scholar could feel proud of.

While the centre of his work for the reorientation of Sanskritic studies was Panjab, at the all-India level, he worked, with the same objective, as Member of the Government of India Sanskrit Commission (1956-57) and also of its Indology Committee and Sanskrit Board (1953-64). He was also connected with the Sahitya Akademi (Indian National Academy of Letters) as a Member of its

General Council and of its Advisory Poard (1954-65). Of the All-India Oriental Conference he was the President of the Vedic Section (1949) and also its General President (1968). Though indifferent to worldly honours, still a few did not fail to reach him. Among these may be mentioned the distinctions of *Kt. C. T.* (Italy, 1949), *O.d'A.* (France, 1950) and *Padma Bhūṣhaṇa* (India, 1968). It is also worthy of mention that in 1965 the Kurukshetra University conferred on him the honorary degree of *Doctor of Literature*.

Acharya Vishva Bandhu was a unique personality who combined in himself deep scholarship, lofty thoughts, high principles, a hard working disposition, amiable manners, organising capacity, universal outlook and an ever cheerful frame of mind. The institutions which has raised by dint of dedicated work and perseverance, to international recognition, stand as permanent monuments to his memory, serving to stimulate every scholar of Indology to continue the commendable work which he has started.

K. V. SARMA

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VEDIC TEXTS ON THE MANUFACTURE OF POTTERY*

By

WILHELM RAU, Marburg (W. Germany)

In order to demonstrate the importance of Vedic Sanskrit texts for Indian archaeology, I propose to discuss here the making and the shape of two earthen vessels employed in Vedic ritual, namely the *ukhā*' and the *mahāvīrā*.¹ The former was used as a portable container of a sacrificial fire (*ūkhya agni*), while the latter served as a boiling-pot for milk in the *pravargyā* ceremony. It would, no doubt, be much more interesting, if our literary sources furnished us with information on pottery used in everyday life, but there is, fortunately, a definite likelihood that the earthenware used on the sacrificial ground was not entirely different from the pottery employed for ordinary domestic purposes, in earlier times. Allowance must, I presume, only be made for the probability that in the ritual sphere primitive technical methods and obsolete shapes of vessels may have survived longer than in the secular sphere of life.

My sources are the four Saṃhitās of the Black *Yajurveda*, i.e. the *Maitrāyaṇī*, the *Kaṭha*—, the *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha*—, and the *Taittirīyasamhitā*, a fragment of a *Kāthakabrāhmaṇa*, the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* and the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*.² I deliberately confine myself to the very oldest literary strata, hoping

* Paper read at the International Sanskrit Conference, New Delhi, March 1972.

1 Some efforts in a similar direction have occasionally been made, e.g. in a few contributions to the book '*Potteries in Ancient India*,' Edited by B. P. Sinha, Patna 1969, large-8°, pp. ii, 316, 2', but the matter could, and should, be treated much more thoroughly.

2 KāB [= *Kāthakabrāhmaṇa*]. Die Tübinger Kaṭha-Handschriften und ihre Beziehung zum Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka. Von L. von SCHROEDER. Herausgegeben mit einem Nachtrag

in this way to get as close as possible to the Vedic period proper. The Śrautasūtras contain, this must be admitted, a certain amount of additional information,¹ but I am convinced that they belong to historical rather than to prehistoric times and may reflect innovations in comparison with the older texts.

Let me then familiarize you first with the gist of the relevant chapters of our sources, and in the second part of my paper offer you some conclusions which, in my opinion, may be drawn from the facts ascertained in the first. Prehistorians specializing in ancient technology will perhaps be able to point out more.

Ukhā'

ŚB 6, 4, 4, 18—6, 5, 4, 16 :

A suitable amount of clay (*mr'd*) is brought to an enclosed shed (*pārisrita*) on the sacrificial ground and deposited on a moistened, gravel (*sikatā*)-covered mound (*uddhata*). Next, water wherein the red gum of *Butea frondosa* Koen. (*parṇakaṣāyā*) had been boiled is poured over the clay and five materials added: (1) foam (*phēna*, of what?), (2) goat's hair (*ajalomā*), ground powder (*piṣṭā*) of (3) lime-pebbles (*śārkarā*), (4) stone (*āśman*) and (5) an unidentified metallic compound (*ayorasā*; according to J. EGGELING on ŚB 6, 5, 1, 6 'iron-rust'). This mixture is carefully kneaded, among others with the following mantras (*Vājasaneyisaṃhitā* 11, 55-57):

sāmsṛṣṭām vāsuhī rudrai'r dhī'raiḥ karmanyā'ṇi mṛdam |
hāstābhyāṃ mṛdvī'ṇi kṛtvā' sinivālī' kṛṇotu tā'm ||

The clay suitable for the work that has been mixed by the Vasus [and] by the skilfull Rudras,—may Sinivālī fashion it, after she has made it soft with her hands!

von G. BÜHLER. Wien 1898. = Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Classe. Band 137, IV.

KpS *Kapiṣṭhala--Kāṭha-Saṃhitā*: Ed. RAGHU VIRI, Delhi 1968.

KS *Kāṭhakam*: Ed. Leopold von SCHROEDER. 3 vols. and index by W. SIMON, Leipzig 1900, 1909, 1910, 1912.

MS *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā*: Ed. Leopold von SCHROEDER, 4 vols., Leipzig 1881, 1883, 1885, 1886.

ŚB *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa*: Ed. Albrecht WEBER, Berlin/London 1855.

TA *Taittirīyāranyakam*: Ed. Ve. Śā. Rā. Rā. BĀBĀŚĀSTRĪ PHADAKE, 2 vols., Poona 1926.

TS *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*: Ed. ANANTAŚĀSTRĪ DHUPAKARA, Pārāṇi 1957.

Figures in square [] brackets indicate pages and lines of the editions used.

¹ For the *ukhā'* see: *Āpastamba*.Ś.S. 16, 4, 1-6,1; *Baudhāyana*.Ś.S.10, 1-8; *Mānava*.Ś.S. 6, 1, 2, 1-2, 22; *Vārāha*.Ś.S. 2, 1, 1, 33-48; *Vaiṣṇava*.Ś.S. 18, 1-2; *Satyāṣṭha*.Ś.S. 11, 1, 42-66; —*Kṛtya*.Ś.S. 16, 3, 16 — 4, 23; for the *mahāvīra*: *Āpastamba*.Ś.S. 15, 2, 1 — 4, 10; *Baudhāyana*.Ś.S. 9, 1-4; *Bhāradvāja*.Ś.S. 11, 2, 1 — 4, 10; *Mānava*.Ś.S. 4, 2, 1, 14-29; *Vaiṣṇava*.Ś.S. 13, 2-6; *Satyāṣṭha*.Ś.S. 24, 1, 8-22; *Kātyāna*.Ś.S. 25, 15, 1-26.

sinīvālī' sukapardā' sukuri'rā' svaupaśā' |
sā' tūbhyam adite mahy ókhā'm dadhātu hústayoh ||

Sinīvālī of fair hair-tufts, of fair head-dress, of fair locks, may she, o great Aditi, pass thee the *ukhā'* into thy hands!

ukhā'm kṛṇotu śáktyā bāhūbhyām áditir dhiyā' |
mātā' putrām yáthopásthe sá'gnīm bibhartu gārbha ā' ||

May Aditi fashion the *ukhā'* with ability, with her arms, with skill ! May she [scil. the *ukhā'*] bear Agni in her womb like a mother her son in her lap!

I have quoted these mantras fully, because they show that in early times the mixing of the clay and, as will be seen later, the firing of the pot was done by men, whereas the kneading was accomplished by one female and the fashioning by two of them together. In the ritual of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* it is the *Yājamaṇa* who performs all this work, unaided.

The *ukhā'* is hand-made by the strip- or slap work- method, not wheel-thrown, in such a way that, firstly, the flat base (*nidhī*) measuring one span (*prādeśú*) in diameter is spread out. Next, its edge (*tī'ra*) is turned up all-around, and then, successively, three rolls or strips of clay (*uddhī*) are ranged one upon another and pressed into union by daubing (*sām-lip*) and continued moistening (*saṃ-ślakṣṇaya-*) the inside as well as the outside of the vessel. The total height should amount to a span (*prādeśú*), while the diameter could be either one or five spans, i.e. the length of an arrow (*īṣu*). On the upper, that is on the third, roll (*uddhī*), probably on the joint between the second and the third roll, a horizontal belt (*rā'snā*) is pasted, and to further strengthen the lower sides of the vessel, four vertical bands (*ūrdhvā'*) applied, reaching from the base up to the horizontal belt just mentioned. At their ends they run into nipples (*stāna*). The ŚB insists that they should be four in number, neither less (i.e. two) nor more (i.e. six or eight) as older ritual authorities permitted. Last of all, the mouth (*bīla*) is fashioned. Upon completion, the *Yājamaṇa* sets the *ukhā'* down with the mantra (VS 11, 58):

kṛtvā'ya' sā' mahī'm ukhā'm mṛnmáyīm yónim agnáye
[etā'm] putrēbhyah prā'yacchad áditih śrapáyān iti ||

Having fashioned the great *ukhā'*, the earthen womb for Agni, Aditi gave it to her sons [with the intention]: 'Let them bake it'! Before firing, however, the raw vessel is fumigated (*dhūpayā-*), i.e. dried 'leather hard', with seven balls of smouldering horsedung.

For the baking, a square (*cātuṣsrakti*) pit (*kū'pa*) is dug in the ground. Its bottom is covered with fuel (*pācana*). Several Śrautasūtras prescribe that here, as also for the baking of the *mahāvīra*, such materials should be used, as,

while being burnt, dye red (*lohitapacanīyāḥ saṁbhārāḥ*)¹. On the fuel a piece of raw clay, i.e. the *ā'sādhā* brick (*īṣṭakā*), is placed, then the *ukhā'* set down (*āva-dhā*) - according to *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra* 16, 4, 11 'with the mouth inverted' (*nyubjā*) -, next the *viśvājyotis* bricks, i.e. another layer of raw clay put on top of it, finally the remaining space filled with fuel and kindled. The process of firing (*śrapaya* - 'water-smoking' and *pae* 'burning') is continued for more than twelve hours, because it is specifically stated that new fuel should be added in day-time only. After baking, the *ukhā'* is cleared from the ashes (*ūd-vap*), turned over (*pāryā-vartaya*), taken up (*ūd-yam*), graped from both sides (*pāri-grh*) and cooled (*ā'-chrđ*) with goat's milk (*ajā'yai pāyas*) poured into it.

The chapters of the *Samhitās* of the Black *Yajurveda* dealing with the same matter² are on the whole much shorter, and MS yields almost nothing new. Unlike in the ŚB the following materials are mixed with the clay: (1) [pounded] potsherds from a deserted settlement (*armyāṇi kapālāni* KS KpS, *armakapālā'ni* TS), (2) [pounded] lime pebbles (*śarkarā*), (3) goat's hair (*ajalomā*), (4) hair of a black antelope skin (*kṛṣṇājīnāsya lómāni* TS). MS speaks of five materials without specifying them. — KS permits five rolls of clay (*uddhi*) instead of three. — MS, KS and KpS allow a span (*prādeśá*) or a cubit (*aratni*) for the diameter, or a fathom (*vyāmá* = five cubits) for the circumference, I presume, rather than for the diameter, to which KS and KpS add the remark that the size may also remain indeterminate (*āparimita*). — KS and KpS leave an option of either two or four or six or eight, TS of two or four, nipples (*stāna*). — An *ukhā'* intended for black magic (*abhicārā*) should be nine-edged (*nāvāśri*), according to KS, KpS and TS. — The firing pit is called *avaśá* instead of *kū'pa*.

Mahāvīra

KāB p. 96, 13 and TA 5, 2, 7 -5, 3, 9:

In addition to a suitable amount of clay the following materials are required: (1) earth torn up by a boar (*varāhāvihata*), (2) earth from an ant-hill (*valmīkavapā'*), (3) [flowers of] the *pūti'ka* plant (either *Basella rubra* var. *cordifolia* Linn. or *Guilandina Bonducella* Linn.), (4) goat's hair (*ajalomā*), and (5) hair of a black antelope skin (*kṛṣṇājīnāsya lómāni*). They are carried by several men together into a shed (*pāriśrita*) on the sacrificial ground and deposited on a gravelled (*sikatopopta*) mound (*ūddhata*). Here, boiling water (*mādanīḥ*) is poured over the clay mixture and (1) [pounded] potsherds from a deserted settlement (*armakapālā'ni*), (2) [pounded] lime-pebbles (*śarkarā*),

1 For the *ukhā'* see: *ĀpastambaŚ.S.* 16, 5, 8-9 and *SatyāśāḍhaŚ.S.* 11, 1, 62; — for the *mahāvīra*: *ĀpastambaŚ.S.* 15, 3, 20; 15, 4, 2; *BhāradvājaŚ.S.* 11, 3, 14-16; *SatyāśāḍhaŚ.S.* 24, 1, 20.

2 MS 3, 1, 6-8; KS 19, 5-7; KpS 30, 3-5; TS 5, 1, 6-7.

(3) goat's hair (*ajalomā*) as well as (4) hair of a black antelope skin (*kṛṣṇājīndasya lómāni*) kneaded into it.

The *mahāvīrā* pot is fashioned by hand and a piece of bamboo (*vēnu*) without using the potter's wheel. It should be made of three rolls of clay (*ādhi'*, *uddhi*), measure a span (*prādeśā*), a yard, a fathom, or an unspecified distance in diameter, have a vertical band applied around the neck (*rā'snā, parigrivā*), and above the shape of a drinking cup (*upāriṣṭātpātra*), probably a spout. Having been duly fumigated (*dhūpayā-*) with horse-dung in a sunny spot (!), the *mahāvīrā* pot is fired with sprigs of *Prosopis spicigera* Linn. (*śamīśākhā'h*) and, when finally freed from the ashes (*ūd-vap*), cooled with goat's milk (*ajakṣīrā*).

ŚB 14, 1, 2, 9-25:

A sufficient amount of clay is mixed with (1) earth from an ant-hill (*valmīkavapā'*), (2) earth torn up by a boar (*varāhāvihata*), (3) [parts of] *ādārā* plants (unidentified) and (4) goat's milk (*ajākṣīrā*). The fashioning is done by hand in an enclosed shed (*pāriśrīta*) on a mound (*khāra*). The *mahāvīrā* pot measures one span (*prādeśā*), is contracted in the middle (*mādhye saṃgrhīta*)¹ and possesses a spout (*mūkha*) three thumb's breadth high which is compared to a nose (*nā'sikā*). Having been trimmed (*hi*) with the grass *Coix barbata* Roxb (*gāvēdhukā*) and fumigated (*dhūpayā-*) with horse-dung it is fired (*śrapayā-*) simultaneously with other vessels and raw bricks (*īṣṭakā*). Part of the fuel is placed underneath, the rest on top of the pot. When it has been freed from the ashes (*ūd-vap*), it is cooled (*ā'chrd*) with goat's milk (*ajā'yai pāyas*).

Conclusions

Although the authors of our sources know the potter's wheel², they prescribe that the *ukhā'* as well as the *mahāvīrā* must be hand-made, not wheel-thrown. It thus appears that the more primitive technique persisted in the ritual sphere while in secular life more advanced methods of potting had already been adopted. Should this assumption be correct, we could pin down the transition from hand-made to wheel-thrown pottery, as far as the Aryans are concerned, (down) to the earlier phases of Vedic times.

The clay used was mixed with various materials, some of them organic: parts of plants, hair of goats and black antelopes. These latter were during the firing process certainly burned, leaving the pots more or less porous. Inasmuch as the temperature obtained under open firing varies from 400° to 700° C³ they

1 Cf. MEHENDALE, M. A.: ABORI vols. 48/9, 1968, 193-5.

2 *Kaulālacakṛā*: ŚB 11, 8, 1, 1: Cf. also MS 1, 8, 3 [118, 3]; KS 6, 3 [51, 14]; KpS 4, 2 [45, 4].

3 SARASWATI, Baidyanath and Nab Kishore BEHURA: Pottery Techniques in Peasant India, Anthropological Survey of India, Government of India, Calcutta, 13: Memoir No. 13: 1964, published on 15th October, 1966. 8°, pp. x, 208; p. 111.

cannot have been but ill-fired. Their sizes range from about 0.24 m to 1.0 m in diameter at the opening, and from 0.24 m to 0.40 m in height. Particular features, useful for identification, are with the *ukhā'*, the bands of clay affixed on all four sides vertically from the base of the vessels up to the horizontal belt applied at two-thirds of the total height with nipples at their ends varying in number from two to eight. There was a possibility to fashion the *ukhā'* nine-edged [instead of round or eight-edged?]. — The *mahāvīra* pot, on the other hand, was contracted in the middle, had a vertical band around the neck and possessed a nose-like spout, about 0.06 m long. — Other forms of plastic decoration and all references to painting are wanting. There may be found impressions of small pebbles on the flat bases of the *ukhā'* as well as of the *mahāvīra*, inasmuch as both vessels were modelled on a gravel-covered mound. Firing was accomplished by the covered baking method between two layers of raw bricks in a simple open pit and, toward the end of the time under review, with materials producing red colour. Let excavators, especially at Noh (Bharatpur State, Rajasthan) and at Atranjikhera (Etah District, Uttar Pradesh) be on the lookout for ceramics of this description among their finds of plain unpainted red or ochre coloured ware!

As everybody knows, we have absolutely no means to ever write a political history of pre-Aśokan India; but there are hidden in Vedic tradition ample materials for a history of ancient Indian civilization. They have, until now, been exploited to a very limited extent only, and this for quite obvious reasons. The number of relevant texts is large. Reliable printed editions are, at least for some of them, not easily available, even in India. Vedic prose is difficult to understand for the ordinary Sanskritist. Last not least, the passages referring to a given subject are almost always very short, and for a long time had to be assembled with considerable patience by very extensive reading. Fortunately, the last mentioned difficulty has been removed almost completely by Dr. Vishvabandhu's stupendous *Vaidikapadānukramakośa*.¹ Thanks to this scholar's efforts we are now in a position to utilize the very oldest written records of Aryan India as a means to check the finds unearthed by archaeologists. On the other hand, these same excavators will, in all likelihood, in a not too distant future date the Vedic period by the radiocarbon method far more exactly than has been possible until now. Provided that it be free from religious bias, the study of Vedic ritual is, therefore, of the utmost importance for a cultural history of India, and Vedic Sanskrit, far from being a dead language, has in this field a great future.

If this paper has, by using just one example, succeeded to prove this assertion, I have achieved my purpose.

1 16 vols. 4. Lahore/Hoshiarpur 1935-65.

THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ—A SOURCE OF THE OLD-JAVANESE RĀMĀYAṆA KAKAWIN

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It¹ is common knowledge now that one of the sources of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* (abbr. OJR) is the Sanskrit poetic work, the *Rāvaṇavadha* or *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (BhK.) dating from perhaps the seventh century A.D. It tells the story of Prince Rāma fairly much in accordance with the much earlier *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. The author of the OJR² used the BhK. as a model for rendering the Rāma-story into Old-Javanese. The reason why he chose this work is not entirely clear, for besides being a succinct narrative of Rāma's adventures, it also illustrates in a poetic form some of the rules of Pāṇini's grammar and gives examples of verses composed according to the Sanskrit text-books on *alaṃkāra*. Since Sanskrit grammatical categories are not of relevance to Old-Javanese and figures of style and speech are rarely translatable, it remains a puzzle why the author did not avail himself of a less forbidding rendition of the Rāma-story. He has not acknowledged the debt he owed to Bhaṭṭi, but has left it to the efforts of probing twentieth-century scholars to ferret out the truth. Thanks to the contributions of H.Bh. Sarkar and M. Ghosh of Calcutta, India, R.Ng. Poerbatjaraka of Yogyakarta, Indonesia and especially C. Hooykaas from the Netherlands, we know now that the first fifteen chapters of a total of 26 of the OJR are in large part based on the first thirteen (out of 22) chapters of the BhK.³ The reasons why the author of the OJR has abandoned the model of the BhK after sarga 15 are still a matter of speculation. Hooykaas sums it up as

1 This paper was prepared during a study leave in Indonesia under a fellowship from the Ford Foundation. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Haryati Soebadio, especially with the Old-Javanese texts. I also thank Eknath Easwaran whose inspiring lectures about the Bhagavad-gītā kept the memory of this text clear in my mind. The texts used were: S. Radhakrishnan, *The Bhagavadgītā*, London (Allen and Unwin) 1948; H. Kern *Rāmāyaṇa kakawin*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Oud-Javaansch heldendicht*, 's-Gravenhage 1900.

2 In the literature the author is often called Yogiśvara, but according to Dr. Soebadio there are reasons to believe that that was not his name.

3 Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, *Indian influence on the literature of Java and Bali*, Calcutta (Greater India Society) 1934; Manomohan Ghosh, "On the source of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin," *J. of the Greater India Society* III (1936) 113-117; R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka "Vertaling van den derden sarga van het Oud-Javaansch Rāmāyaṇa," *Supplement op het Triwindoe-Gedenkboek Mangkoe Nagoro VII*, Soerakarta 1940, 17-39; C. Hooykaas, "The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin," *VKI* 16 (1955), 1-64. In the last article, the history of this text is set forth on pp. 9-10 and 14-15.

follows: "Yogīśvara here [i.e. sargas X-XV] still followed rather closely his [i.e. Bhaṭṭi's] example (though not so closely as in the first sargas, perhaps); then he inserted his XVII-XIX. 11 and for the rest either kept his former example at a distance, or even did completely without it. The reason? Only guesses can be made. He may himself as a student never have mastered the whole of the BhK. He may have worked with a MS, which was defective, became defective, got lost—etc. Perhaps Yogīśvara, working in a language without any connection with the grammatical niceties he dealt with in XIV-and, lost interest." (Hooykaas *o.c.* p. 34).

So far Hooykaas' remarks. In this paper I do not intend to deal with the question why the author of the OJR deserted the model of the BhK, although I shall indulge in some speculations about the nature of his borrowings at the end of this paper. In the meanwhile, I hope to demonstrate that he has used another Sanskrit work as a source of inspiration for his Kakawin, namely the *Bhagavad-gītā*.¹

The passage of the OJR that I like to draw attention to is quite short. It is the song of praise lavished by sages upon Viṣṇu at the time that Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the whole monkey army are lying on the battlefield ensnared by the Nāgapāśa, the magic, snake-like noose that coiled itself around their bodies when hurled by Indrajit. Unable to move the heroes are lying down helplessly

1 Only after having completed this manuscript did I discover that this passage had been treated earlier (though not as exhaustively) by C. Hooykaas in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, VI (1956-'57), pp. 69-74. Hooykaas there also gives references to scholars who earlier had recognized the similarity between this passage and the *Bhagavad-gītā*. For the sake of completeness they are listed here: R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka in *Verslag van het Tweede Congress van het Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland*, 1922, Pp. 47-48 (not available to me); R. Aichele "Die Form der Kāwi Dichtung," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 29 (1926) 933-39, only in passing; R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka "Het Oud-Javaansche Rāmāyaṇa," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, Volkenkunde* LXXII (1932) p. 167, only in passing.

After a brief introduction, Hooykaas proceeds to give his translation of the Old-Javanese passage (OJR XXII 129-160, hence a longer passage than I have dealt with). His device for pointing out the similarities between the two texts is to translate the OJ into English but to leave the Sanskrit words untranslated. His purpose is "to give a faithful idea of the original [as well] as to enlighten the identification of the passage's source," (*JOIB*) V (1955) p. 188). Here as elsewhere he appeals to Indian scholars to aid in tracing these stanzas to Sanskrit works available to them.

The results of my more detailed investigation will suggest that such an identification of Sanskrit passages on the basis of the Sanskrit vocabulary only is a difficult proposition. We shall see that the author of the OJR does not shrink from using OJ glosses, as well as Sanskrit synonyms in his rendering of the Sanskrit text. It seems that he is poetically inspired by the Sanskrit original rather than under an obligation to give a literal rendition. Hence the translation is often in terms of ideas rather than in terms of words—an admirable procedure, but not one that leaves confident about ever being certain about a potential source.

while Indrajit maliciously parades Sītā in front of them to demoralize her. Rāma gives in to a long lament (the Nāgapāśa has not immobilized his tongue) in which he pities his own fate and tells the monkeys how badly he has guided them and what a miserable leader he proved to be. Sugrīva tries to console him by indulging in a self-castigation of his own brutish race, but then the Ṛṣis in the sky appeal to Viṣṇu, reminding him of his power, his former and future incarnations and the fact that one of these *avatāras* appears to be failing his mission. The content of this hymn to Viṣṇu is strikingly similar to a passage in the *Bhagavad-gītā* where Kṛṣṇa explains to Arjuna what his true glory is and that he represents the most outstanding individual or class of every auspicious category the human mind can think of. In the *Bhagavad-gītā* of course, Lord Kṛṣṇa speaks in the first person singular (*aham*), but in the OJR the words are addressed to Viṣṇu and the qualities of holiness and excellence are attributed to him in the very polite second person [pronoun *kita*]. In the OJR it is found in *Sarga XXI*. 131-152. Of this section, as I have discovered, verses 134-147 correspond to the Bhgg. X. 20-38. It attracted my attention when Dr. Soebadio and I were reading it in connection with a motif index of the OJR that we are collaborating on.

In the next few paragraphs I shall give a detailed presentation of the material, pointing out the parallels and following that, discuss and summarize the evidence.

It should be pointed out that the order of the verses in the OJR is not the same as in the Bhgg. Worse still, the order of the quarter verses, the *pādas*, is often disturbed. As a result, the individual *pādas* of the Bhgg correspond to segments of verses in the OJR that are sometimes five or six verses removed from each other in the original work. We shall come back later to a discussion of the possible reasons for this mixed-up ordering. But there is no doubt that with a little effort we can piece together most of the Bhgg from the scattered quarter verses in the OJR. A few have been omitted by the author of the OJR which is not surprising if we consider his inconsistent treatment of the BhK text. More interesting are a few passages he has substituted for extant Bhgg readings. Some of them are quite in the spirit of the Bhgg but are not traceable to any of the works I had access to.

TABLE I

Bhgg. X	Bhagavad-Gītā	OJR XXI
20	aham ātmā guḍākeśa sarvabhūtāśayasthitah aham ādīś ca madhyaṃ ca bhūtānām anta eva ca	134a 134b
21	ādityānām ahaṃ viṣṇur jyotiṣāṃ ravir aṃśumān marīcīr marutām aṣṣṃ nakṣatrāṇām ahaṃ śaśī	—, 135a —, 145a
OJR		

22	vedānām sāmavedo 'smi devānām asmi vāsavaḥ indriyānām manaś cā 'smi vitteṣo yakṣarakṣasām	135b, 135b 135c, 136c
23	rudrānām śaṅkaraś cā 'smi bhūtānām asmi cetanā vasūnām pāvakaś cā 'smi meruḥ śikhariṇām aham	135d, — 146a, 136c
24	purodhasām ca mukhyaṁ māṁ viddhi pārtha bṛhaspatim senānīnām ahaṁ skandah sarasām asmi sāgaraḥ	144a 145b, 136d
25	maharṣīnām bhṛgur ahaṁ girām asmy ekam akṣaram yajñānām japayajño 'smi sthāvarānām himālayaḥ	143d, 140c 140b, 136c
26	aśvatthaḥ sarvavṛkṣānām devarṣīnām ca nāradaḥ gandharvānām citrarathaḥ siddhānām kapilo munih	136d, 143c 145c, 143b
27	uccaiḥśravasam aśvānām viddhi mām amṛtodbhavam airāvataṁ gajendrānām narānām ca narādhipam	145d 146d, 136b
28	āyudhānām ahaṁ vajraṁ dhenūnām asmi kāmadhuk prajanaś cā 'smi kandarpaḥ sarpaṇām asmi vāsukiḥ	144c, 137a —, 138b
29	anantaś cā 'smi nāgānām varuṇo yādasām aham pitṛnām aryamā cā 'smi yamaḥ saṁyamātām aham	138a, 137d 140a, 144b
30	prahlādaś cā 'smi daityānām kālāḥ kalayatām aham mṛgānām ca mṛgendro 'haṁ vainateyaś ca pakṣiṇām	145c, — 137c, 137b
31	pavanaḥ pavatām asmi rāmaḥ śastrabhṛtām aham jhaṣānām makaraś cā 'smi srotasām asmi jāhnavī	138d, 144d 137c, 138c
32	sargānām ādir antaś ca madhyaṁ cai 'vā 'ham arjuna adhyātmavidyā vidyānām vādaḥ pravadatām aham	— 145b, 142a
33	akṣarānām akāro 'smi dvandvaḥ sāmāsikasya ca aham evā 'kṣayaḥ kālo dhātā 'haṁ viśvatomukhaḥ	140c, 146c —, 139d
34	mṛtyuḥ sarvaharaś cā 'ham udbhavaś ca bhaviṣyatām kīrtiḥ śrīr vāk ca nārīnām smṛtir medhā dhṛtiḥ kṣamā	—, — 145d
35	bṛhatsāma tathā sāmnaṁ gāyatrī chandasām aham māsānām mārگاśirso 'ham ṛtūnām kusumākaraḥ	—, 146b 139b, 139c
36	dyūtaṁ chalayatām asmi tejas tejasvinām aham jayo 'smi vyavasāyo 'smi sattvaṁ sattvavatām aham	146c, 142c 142c, —
37	vṛṣṇīnām vāsudevo 'smi pāṇḍavānām dhanañjayaḥ munīnām apy ahaṁ vyāsaḥ kavīnām uśanā kavīḥ	147a, — 143a, 143b
38	daṇḍo damayatām asmi nītir asmi jigīṣatām maunaṁ cai 'vā 'smi guhyānām jñānaṁ jñānavatām aham	—, — 142a, —

TABLE II

OJR · XXI

Old-Javanese-Rāmāyaṇa

Bhgg. X

134a	wyāpaka riñ jagat kita ta jīwa niñ dadi kabeh	20a
b	ādi kitāta madhya pinakānte antaka kita	20cd
c	kāraṇa niñ sthiti pralaya sambhaweñ tribuwana	—
d	mwañ mañanugrahe kita mahecwareñ surawara	—

135a	riñ sumēnō kabeh kita ta sūryya nityadumilah	21b
b	riñ aji sāmaweda kita riñ hyañ indra ta kita	22ab
c	riñ watēk indriya pwa ya manah awak ta ya lēwih	22c
d	rudra kabeh kitekana ta çañkarā gawayinak	23a
136a	riñ dadi yakṣa rākṣasa kabeh kitāta dhanapa	23b
b	riñ dadi mānuṣa prakaṭakīrtti bhūpati kita	27d
c	riñ maruhur sumeru kita riñ akampya himawān	23d, 25d
d	riñ madalēm samudra kita bodhi riñ kayukayu	24d, 26a
137a	riñ pacujāti lēmbu kita mehakēn saharēp	28b
b	riñ umibēr kitekana ta wainateya taya len	30d
c	siñha kiteñ kēnas makara riñ awak yan adhēmit	30c, 31c
d	ya pwan iwak agōñ kita anuñ prabhunya baruṇa	29d
138a	nāga kabeh kitekana anantabhoga karēñō	29a
b	sarppa kabeh kitekana ta bāsuki prakacita	28d
c	riñ lwah agōñ pawitra çuci jāhnawī kita sadā	31d
d	riñ lakuçighra len gati lanā kiteka pawana	31a
139a	riñ mañadēg kitekana ta warṣakāla sakala	—
b	lek rwawēlas kitekana ta mārggacīrṣa kalima	35c
c	riñ rētu nēm kiteka madhumāsa manmathasakā	35d
d	riñ magawe prajā kita ta dhātṛ māñulahakēn	33d
140a	riñ pitarah kabeh kita ta aryamā pitṛwara	29c
b	yajña kabeh kitāta japayāga uttama tēmēn	25c
c	om riñ ujā riñ aksara akārarūpa ta kita	25b, 33a
d	riñ caturāçrama pwa ya gr̥hastha āçrama kita	—
141a	dharmma magōñ phalanya ta ya duryyaçanya ta kita	—
b	nyāya nimitta yan katēmu nārtha yekana kita	—
c	karmma manūti ātma lawaṇ jagaddhita	—
d	mañkana riñ ulah anuñanūti yogya ta kita	—
142a	mona kiteñ rahasya kita wāda sañ wruha cēnil	38a, 32d
b	sañ wihikan rikañ naya kita ta kīrtti rasikā	—
c	teja kiteñ suteja jaya niñ jayeñ raṇa kita	36b, 36c
d	çakti nikañ maçakti kita buddhi sañ winihikan	—
143a	wyāsa kiteñ munīndra kita çukra riñ kawiwara	37c, 37d
b	riñ ṛṣi siddha tan kana waran kitā ta kapila	26d
c	dewarṣi praçāsta kita nārada priyaraṇa	26b
d	brahmarṣi prasiddhabhṛgu siddhawāk sira kita	25a
144a	riñ nayawit pratīta bhagawān wṛhaspati kita	24b
b	riñ mañēnakēn ātiçayadaṇḍa sañ yama kita	29d
c	bajra awak ta uttama riñ āyudhā 'pratihata	28a
d	riñ wihikan riñ astra kita rāma wīralalita	31b

145a	riñ nakṣatra kabeh kitékana wulan,	21d
	riñ açwa uccaiçrawa	27a
b	riñ senāpati sañ kumāra,	24c
	rikanañ widyā kitā 'dhyātmikā	32c
c	riñ gandharwa kitāta citraratha	26c
	len prahlāda riñ daityawān	30a
d	riñ strī çrī smṛti kīrti çānti dhṛti	—
	dhih medhā kṣamā wāk kita	34cd
146a	sañ hyaṇ pāwaka riñ watēk wasu	23c
	waṣat swāhā kitātah paweh	—
b	gūyatri kita uttamottama rikañ	—
	canden ujar sañ kawi	35b
c	dwandwā wakta rikañ samāsa kita	33b
	ta dyuteñ calātah kita	36a
d	sañ airāwaṇa riñ gajendra magalak çārdūlawikriḍita	27b
147a	riñ wṣṇiwiṛa kita rakwa dēlāha kṣṣṇa	37a
b	kañsādidaitya tṛṇatulya ya patyananta	—
c	riñ pāṇḍawa pra kita arjjuna rēwalanta	37b
d	duryodhana prakṛtiduṣṭa ya patyananta	—

In the tables setting forth the parallel passages I have included those passages only about whose borrowing no doubt needs to exist. In addition there are one or two passages in the OJR which with less certainty can be made to agree with quarter verse in the Bhgg for which no OJR correspondent exists as yet, and finally there are a few remaining which obviously do not fit into our section. Before discussing those, I would like to elaborate on a few of the more interesting correspondences to illustrate in which manner the author of the OJR has operated in his textual borrowing.

The most striking difference between the two texts, as has been pointed out before, is the arrangement of their verses. The order of verses in the Bhgg is entirely ignored. This is rendered possible, of course, by the rather unstructured form of composition of the Bhgg. Most of the qualifications and attributes of Kṛṣṇa are presented in units of quarter verses, as short "pellets" of information. Of the nineteen verses under consideration, all but six (20ab, 20cd, 24ab, 27ab, 32ab, 34cd) can be divided into individual quarter verses which express distinct and complete attributes. In the other 13 the two quarter verses are semantically or syntactically dependent on one another, so that the integral unit of expression is a half verse. The author of the OJR has exploited this loose structure by taking the individual units and transforming them into Old-Javanese verses with a similar meaning, but in a different verse metre. The metre of the Bhgg in this passage is the simple epic *śloka* type of two eight-syllable units per half-verse. The OJR,

on the other hand, is composed in artful longer syllabic units than the Bhgg. In the section under consideration, the metres of verses 134-144 are called *Vīralalita*,¹ each quarter verse consisting of sixteen syllables. Verses 145-146 are in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, where each quarter verse has nineteen syllables, whereas 147-152 are composed in *Vasantatilakā* which needs fourteen syllables per quarter verse.

In view of the fact that an eight-syllable Sanskrit quarter verse has to be transposed into an OJ quarter verse of at least 14 syllables, it is not surprising that the OJ rendering will contain more words. These are sometimes verse fillers, such as particles and redundant personal pronoun references, at other times appositions and elaborations of an idea already expressed. For instance, where the Bhgg reads: *rudrāṇāṃ śaṅkaraś cā 'smi* (23a) 'and of the Rudras I am Śaṅkara,' the OJ has a *Vīralalita* quarter verse which translates literally: 'Amongst all Rudras, you, yes you, are, indeed Śaṅkara, the provider of joy,' or: *rudra kabeh kitekana ta śaṅkarā gavayinak* (135d). Here the last phrase *gavayinak* is simply an OJ gloss of the Sanskrit compound *śaṅkara* :—*śaṅk punyaṃ karotī, ti śaṅkaraḥ*. Another example is Bhgg X.25a *maharṣiṇāṃ bhṛgu aham* 'Of the great sages I am Bhṛgu,' which the author of the OJR renders: *brahmaṁṣi prasiddha bhṛgu siddhawāk sira kita* (143d) 'Among the perfect brahma-sages you are really Bhṛgu, whose speech will come true.' Here Bhṛgu has been demoted to the rank of brahmaṁṣi and the words *prasiddha*, *siddhawāk* and *sira* (eight syllables altogether) have been thrown in gratuitously to expand the metre of eight syllables into sixteen. Sometimes the translator succeeds in fitting two eight-syllable Sanskrit verses into one nineteen-syllable OJ verse. For instance, Bhgg X.26c reads : *gandharvāṇāṃ citrarathaḥ* 'Of the Gandharvas I am Citraratha' and X.30a has *prahlādaś cā 'smi daityānāṃ* 'Of the Daityas I am Prahlāda.' The OJR here uses the formidable *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre to combine the two Sanskrit verses into one 19-syllable quarter verse reading: *riṇ gandharwa kitāta citraratha len prahlāda riṇ daityawān* 'Amongst the Gandharvas thou art Citraratha, and Prahlāda amongst the Daityavān.' Similarly, the sixteen-syllable OJ *Vīralalita pāda* 135b embraces two eight-syllable Sanskrit feet: *riṇ aji sāmaveda kita, riṇ hyaṇ indra ta kita* 'Among the holy texts thou art the Sāmaveda, among the gods Indra,' to correspond to Bhgg X.22a and b: *vedānāṃ sāmavedo 'smi devānāṃ asmi vāsavaḥ* which needs no translation. Notice the free use of synonyms in the OJ translation: *Indra* for *Vāsava*-, similarly

1 In the list of metres in Āpte's Sanskrit-English dictionary, Vol. III, Appendix P. this metre (formula *bharanaranaga*) has five alternative names, none of them *Pravaralalita*, the term used by Hooykaas, O.C. p. 47, a name that does not fit the metre either. Poerbatjaraka TBG 72 (1932) p. 210 calls it, among others, (*Pra*) *Vīralalita*, a name suggested also by verse 144b.

XXI. 136c *himawān* for X.25d *himālayaḥ*; 136d *bodhi* (a Buddhist word?) for X. 26a *aśvattha-*; 138a *anantabhoga* for X 29a *ananta-*, etc.

These examples are simply illustrations of the methods employed by the poet to convert Sanskrit verses into Old-Javanese. It should be noted, however, that the techniques observed are not confined to translations alone, for Sanskrit literature in its own right offers many examples of the same basic text occurring in different verses metres. Buddhist literature also is rich in examples of this type. The author of the OJR in a way was simply continuing a practice that had existed in India since the time of the *Rgveda*.¹

We have, then a total, of 19 verses in the Sanskrit of which six are integral half verses—in so far as they express one single unit of discourse—and 64 are integral quarter verses. An addition operation yields a total of 70 integral phrases, of which the OJR has in translation a total of 56, or about 80%. The remaining fourteen are the following:

- 21a *ādityānām aham viṣṇuḥ*
- 21c *marīcīḥ marutām asmi*
- 23b *bhūtānām asmi cetanā*
- 28c *prajānaś cā 'smi kandarpaḥ*
- 30b *kālāḥ kalayatām aham*
- 32ab *sargāṇām ādir antaś ca madhyaṃ cāi 'vā 'ham arjuna*
- 33c *aham evā 'kṣayaḥ kālo*
- 34a *mṛtyuḥ sarvabhāṣaś cā 'ham*
- 34b *udbhāvaś ca bhaviṣyatām*
- 35a *bṛhatsāmā tathā sāmānām*
- 36d *sattvaṃ sattvavatām aham*
- 38a *daṇḍo damayatām asmi*
- 38b *nītir asmi jigīṣatām*
- 38d *jñānaṃ jñānavatām aham*

Translation of the Sanskrit passages :

21a Of the gods I am Viṣṇu; 21c Of the Maruts I am Marīci; 23b of the elements I am the mind; 28c And I am Kandarpa, the begetter; 30b I am the time of counters; 32ab I am the beginning, the end and the middle of creation, O Arjuna; 33c I am imperishable time; 34a And I am all-seizing death; b And the beginning of that which is about to be; 35a And the Great Sāman, likewise, of the sāmāns; 36d I am goodness of those who possess goodness; 38a I am the rod of chastisement of those who wield power; 38b I am good leadership of those who desire conquest; 38d I am knowledge of those who possess knowledge.

¹ See, for instance, the three volumes of the *Vedic Variants* by M. Bloomfield, F. Edgerton and M. B. Emeneau, New Haven 1928-'33. The variations in the Buddhist Mahāyāna texts have not been treated comprehensively yet.

On the other side of the fence we find a number of verses in the OJR within this passage which cannot be assigned with great confidence to the corresponding passage of the Bhgg. There are thirteen of them :

Untraced Old-Javanese passages.

- 134c *kāraṇa niñ sthiti pralaya sambhaweñ tribhuwana*
 134d *mwañ mañanugrahe kita maheçwareñ suravara*
 139a *riñ mañadëg kitekana ta waṣakāla sakala*
 140d *riñ caturāçrama pwa ya gṛhastha āçrama kita*
 141a *dharmma magoñ phalanya ta ya duryaçanya ta kita*
 141b *nyāya nimitta yan katëmu ñārtha yekana kita*
 141c *karmma manūti āgama lawañ jagaddhita kita*
 141d *mañkana riñ ulah anuñ anūti yogya ta kita*
 142b *sañ wihikan rikān naya kita ta kīrtti rasikā*
 142d *çakti nikañ maçakti kita buddhi sañ winihikan*
 146a *waṣat swāhā kitātah paweh*
 147b *kañsādidaitya tṛṇatulya ya patyananta*
 147d *duryodhana prakṛtiduṣṭa ya patyananta*

In translation they read :

- 134c 'You are the cause of the existence, dissolution and origin of the three worlds.'
 134d 'And the great lord of the best of gods is gracious to you.'
 139a 'Among the fixed events you are the rainy season entirely.'
 140d 'Among the four stages of life you are the Householders' stage.'
 141a 'Great is the reward of Dharma; you are not of small reputation.'
 141b 'You are leadership, the cause for obtaining wealth.'
 141c 'The merit of following the law and of observing the welfare of the world, that is you.'
 141d 'Similarly, you are the activities in the observation of that which is correct.'
 142b 'Among those that are experienced in statecraft, you are the most famous, indeed.'
 142d 'You are powerful among the powerful and wise among the wise.'
 146a 'You are the Vaṣat Svāhā among the sacrificial gifts.'
 147b 'You will kill Kāṃsa and the other Daityas as if they were straws.'
 147d 'Duryodhana of wicked disposition will be killed by you.'

It is curious to find that we have approximately as many verses left over here as we have slots to fill in the Bhgg text. Yet to designate any of them as a translation of one of the passages listed earlier involves a greater freedom of interpretation than I have allowed myself so far. There are practically no verbal

correspondences here. The first line, 134c, could derive from a hypothetical verse in Sanskrit such as **sthitipralayayoś cāhaṃ trilokasyai'va kāraṇam*, but the closest parallel I have found so far in the Bhgg is VII. 5-6 where the ideas of "establishment" (*dhāryate* corresponding to OJ *sthiti*) and "dissolution" (*pralaya*-in both texts) are expressed close together. With the same degree of hesitation one could detect similarities in the notions expressed by Bhgg. 38d *jñānaṃ jñānavatām aham* and OJR 142d, second part: *kita buddhi sañ vinihikan* 'you are wisdom (or wise) among the wise.' That would lead to an even more debatable equivalence of Bhgg 36d *sattvaṃ sattvavatām aham* and OJR 142d, first part: *śakti nikaṇ maśakti kita* 'you are power (or powerful) among the powerful.' But the suggested equivalence of *sattva* with *śakti* remains dubious.

The notion conveyed by 134d "The highest lord of the best of the gods, is favourable to you," is simply not a *Bhagavad-gītā* idea and must have entered our author's imagination through some other channel. In 139a the word *kāla* prompts us to look at the passages × 30b *kālāḥ kalayatām aham* and 33b *aham evā 'kṣayaḥ kālāḥ*, meaning 'I am the time of the counters, I am imperishable time,' respectively. Neither seems to fit the thought expressed by the OJR passage: "Among the fixed things you are the rainy season."¹

Verse 140d is easier to identify. It means literally that among the four *āśramas* Viṣṇu is the *gṛhastha*, or householder. This verse does not occur in the Bhgg, but a similar notion is expressed in the *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa* 2.106.21: *caturṇām āśramāṇāṃ hi gṛhasthyaṃ śreṣṭham āśramam, āhuḥ* "they say that of the four stages of life the householder stage is the best.' Is it possible that the author of the OJR thought of this passage? The wording is almost identical, if *kita* is substituted for *śreṣṭha*-, but it is difficult to be sure with this passage since it is taken clear out of context.²

For the remainder of the verses I cannot find any correspondents. Verses 141a-d and 142d contain references to *dharma* and *nīti* and may come from a completely different work. The verses 38a and b in the Bhgg, though containing similar references, do not afford clear parallels and remain unaccounted for. Similarly, OJR 146d has two sacrificial interjections that invite comparisons with Bhgg 35b *bṛhatsāma sāmnam asmi*. 'Of the *sāman* chants, I am the great *sāman*.'

1 H. Juynboll, "Vertaling van sarga XXI van het Oud-Javaansche Rāmāyaṇa," *BKI* XXI (1933) 301-328 gives an obscure Translation which Cooperor Zoetmulder helpfully clarified for me.

2 *Manusmṛti* 3. 77-78 expresses a similar view but in different words:

*yasmāt trayo 'py āśramaṇo jñānenā 'nnena cā 'nvahaṇi
gṛhasthenā 'va dhāryante tasmā jyeṣṭhāśramo gṛhī (78)*

I owe this reference to Professor A. Ghosh, visiting Professor of the Indian Institute of Culture in Indonesia. I used the Gujarati Printing Press edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bombay, Vol. 2.

but again, the correspondence is not clear. The word *brhatsāman* is not equivalent to the two sacrificial exclamations of the OJ text. Finally, in lines 147b and 147d we find the names of Kāṃsa and Duryodhana mentioned in a context that asserts that Viṣṇu will slay them, as well as Daityas. It is clear from the text that the author of the OJR is well aware of the fact that the Kṛṣṇa incarnation has not taken place yet at the time of this Rāma incident. But it is peculiar that he credits Viṣṇu with the slaying of Duryodhana, a feat that is traditionally attributed to Bhīma. The verb form used here, *patyana* is ambiguous and might mean no more than that Viṣṇu would have been able to kill Duryodhana, as Juynboll translates. It leaves the door wide open for other characters that Viṣṇu would have been able to kill.

In sum, therefore, there is no clear source for 12 of the thirteen OJ quarter verses that are unassignable to the Bhgg. Perhaps the OJ author made them up out of whole cloth, or perhaps he has used another work. The fact that at least one verse is probably assignable to the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* suggests the latter alternative. The manner in which he has treated the Bhgg text should also give us pause to think. From his familiarity with mythology, his poetic innovations, his facility to compose in intricate metres, there cannot be any doubt about the author's poetic talents. He knew the subject matter thoroughly and he knew how to write verse. So whatever his reasons for taking this Bhgg passage and jumbling it up until it is practically unrecognizable, we cannot blame it on his incompetence to produce a faithful translation. On the contrary, he may have seen it as an opportunity to display his own poetic skills. It should also be clear that this passage demonstrates the difficulty of discovering additional sources in Sanskrit literature that have inspired our author. The task would have been difficult enough if he had simply taken passages from both Epics and converted them into OJ verse. But if in addition the author has introduced verses of his own making, as he may have done here, the identification of his sources may at best remain very speculative.

The Old-Javanese *Bhagavad-gītā*, as published by Gonda¹ is definitely not the source of this OJR passage. The corresponding section there is much shorter and the wording in many places quite different. Any source outside of the Bhgg in Sanskrit is also unlikely. It may be argued that a Purāṇa might have served as the model, in a passage still undetected. That likelihood is small for the following reason: There are two words common to both the OJR and the Bhgg that are rare in Sanskrit literature. One is the word *Jāhnavī* for Ganges

1 J. Gonda, "Het Oud-Javaansch Bhiṣmaparwa," *Bibliotheca Javanica* 7, 1936, pp 57-58. The translation was published by the same author in "The Javanese version of the Bhagavad-gītā," *TBG* 75 (1935) 36-82.

(Bhgg ×. 31d) and the other the word *Vainateya-* for *Garuḍa* (×. 30d).¹ Unless a hymn turns up with exactly these words and dating from the tenth century or earlier, it is safe to assume that the author of the OJR used the *Bhagavad-gītā*²

As to the literary motif employed here, the well-known *deus ex machina* (for who will doubt that Viṣṇu will magically rescue Rāma and his allies ?) is a fairly common poetic device in Sanskrit literature. It usually involves a hymn of praise, a *stotra*, to a powerful deity who is then mollified to the extent that he (or she) will lift the obstacle in the way of the imploring human being. The *Bhagavad-gītā* is not really representative of this genre of hymns, since it is a complete statement of faith in its own right. So the question may be raised why our author preferred the Bhgg to, say, the *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra*, or the hymn to Sūrya in the Mbhr. Here again we can only guess, but whatever the virtues of the *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa* (or the *Bhṛ*), although it abounds in didactic and moralizing passages, it lacks a nuclear statement where the poet in a few lines can give vent to his feelings of religious fervor and devotion. It is possible that the author of the OJR seized upon this scene of the helpless protagonists trussed up in unbreakable snake-bonds to the great glee of evil, hideous demons, to demonstrate that in the moment of utter despair an appeal to the deity is successful, and in fact the only recourse open. As a poet he recognized that it is difficult to find more poetic and more inspirational language than the Bhgg and so it is understandable that he would borrow from that work to write a stirring hymn to Viṣṇu. It is hard for me to judge whether the Old-Javanese Kakawin sounds lyrical in its own right, but I am confident that in the hands of this poet the Sanskrit text has received the best translation it could have had.

1 The Petersburger Dictionary lists 3 places for "*jāhnavi*" in the Mbhr. two in the *Harivaṃśa*, two in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, two in the *Pañcatantra* and one in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. The word *vainateya-* is a little bit more common.

2 It may be argued that the source of this passage was another Old-Javanese literary work. Apparently, the names *Vainateya* and *Jāhnavi* are not uncommon in Old-Javanese literature. But in the absence of any such literary work prior to the OJR, such a claim is bound to remain an unprovable hypothesis.

A NOTE ON KĀKA-PEYĀ NADĪ "A CROW-DRINKABLE RIVER"

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The expression *kāka-peyā nadī* "a crow-drinkable river" is very frequent in the Sanskrit and Pāli Buddhist literature. The Pāli form is *kāka-peyyā nadī*. This is also one of the examples given to illustrate Pāṇini's rule P. II. 1.33 (*krtyair adhikārthavacane*) by the commentaries beginning with *Kāśikā-vṛtti*. This paper aims at discussing some of the historical and interpretational problems concerning this expression.

Let us review some of the passages where this term occurs :

- [1] *seyyathā pi ānanda gaṅgā nadī pūrā udakassa sama-tittikā kāka-peyyā*.¹ I. B. Horner translates this as: "It is as if, Ānanda, the river Ganges were full of water, overflowing, so that a crow could drink from it."²
- [2] *seyyathā pi bhikkhave udaka-maṇiko ādhāre thapiro pūro udakassa sama-tittiko kāka-peyyo*.³ "It is as if, monks, there is a pale of water, overflowing, so that a crow could drink from it."
- [3] *seyyathā pi bhikkhave same bhūmi-bhāge pokkharāṇi ... pūrā udakassa sama-tittikā kāka-peyyā*.⁴ "It is as if, monks, there were a well on the even ground, full of water, overflowing, so even a crow could drink from it."
- [4] *punar aparaṃ Śāriputra sukhāvatyāṃ loka-dhātāu sapta-ratnamayyaḥ puṣkarīṇyaḥ ... aṣṭāṅgopetavāri-paripūrṇāḥ sama-tīrthakāḥ kākā-peyāḥ* ..⁵ "Again, Śāriputra, in that world of Sukhāvati, there are wells with the seven precious jewels ... on even ground, so that even a crow could drink from them."

The commonly associated words with *kāka-peyā* are *udakassa pūrā sama-tittikā*. In the *Sukhāvati-Vyūha*, the associated words are ...*vāri-paripūrṇāḥ samatīrthakāḥ*. These are quite self-explanatory passages. Appropriately, the Pāli commentators interpret *kāka-peyā (nadī)* to mean "a river so full that a

1 *Majjhima-nikāya*, ed. by Trenckner, Pali Text Society, London, Reprint of 1964, Vol. I, p. 435.

2 *Middle Length Sayings*, tr. of *Majjhima-nikāya* by I. B. Horner, Pali Text Society, London, 1957, Vol. II, p. 104-5.

3 *Anguttara-nikāya*, ed. by E. Hardy, PTS, London, 1958, Vol. III, p. 27.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

5 *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, ed. by Max Müller, JRAS, 1880, p. 182.

crow can drink by standing anywhere on the banks".¹ Lama Taranatha translates this phrase as "a river so full of water that a crow can drink it without bending its neck".²

Rhys Davids initiates some speculation on this phrase :

Kāka-peyya, according to Buddhaghoṣa, would mean 'crow-drinkable'. Crows do not drink on the wing; and they could stand to drink when a river actually overflowed its banks and formed shallows on the adjoining lands; or when in the hot season, it had formed shallows in its own bed. 'Crow-drinkable' might mean therefore just as well 'shallow' as 'overflowing'. Had the word originally anything to do with *kāka* after all ?³

Though Rhys Davids indicates two possibilities, all the contexts where the term *kāka-peyā* occurs make it quite clear that the term refers only to something which is full of water. Association of a crow with various kinds of things is very frequent in Indian literature. In Buddhist literature, we find compounds like *kāka-sūra* "Crow-hero" referring to a shameless unconscientious person, *kāka-paññā* "crow-wisdom" referring to foolishness, *kāka-guyha* "crops tall enough to hide a crow" and *disā-kāka* "a direction-crow" referring to a crow which is supposed to show a particular direction. Though obviously the crow has nothing to do with river in any significant way, the appearance of *kāka-peyā* and other expressions involving *kāka* itself is an indication of crows being a very common feature of Indian landscape. This is true even of modern Indian towns and villages.

Max Müller, in a footnote to his translation of the smaller *Sukhāvaiṣṭ Vyūha*, raises some more points concerning the expression *kāka-peya* :⁴

"One text reads *kāka-peya*, the other *kākāpeya*. It is difficult to choose. The more usual word is *kāka-peya*. It is uncertain, however, whether *kāka-peya* is meant as a laudatory or as a depreciatory term. In our passage *kāka-peya* must be a term of praise, and we therefore could only render it by 'ponds so full of water that crows could drink from them.' But why should so well-known a word as *kāka-peya* have been spelt *kākāpeya*, unless it was done intentionally? And if intentionally, what was it needed for? We must remember that Pāṇini

1 *Kāka-peyyā ti tīze ṭhita-kākehi pātuṃ sakkuṇṇeyya-udakā*, *Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā*, PTS edn., p. 424.

2 *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts*, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLIX, Dover edn., 1969, p. 94 (Henceforth BMT).

3 *Buddhist Suttas*, tr. from Pali by T. W. Rhys Davids, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI, Dover edn. 1969, p. 179.

4 BMT, p. 94.

II.1.42 schol., teaches us how to form the word *tīrtha-kāka*, a crow at a *tīrtha*, which means a person in a wrong place. It would seem, therefore, that crows were considered out of place at a *tīrtha*, or bathing places, either because they were birds of ill omen or because they defiled the water. From that point of view, *kākāpeya* would mean a pond not visited by crows, free from crows."

The speculative character of the above remarks of Max Müller is quite obvious. However, there are many points in the speculation which need to be corrected. It must be noted that it is only one manuscript which gives the reading *kākāpeya*, while the other manuscript of the *Sukhāvati-Vyūha* and the Pāli Canon uses the term *kāka-peya* or *-peyya*. This in itself is quite enough to reduce the possibility of *kākāpeya* being the correct reading. It seems hard for us to agree with the great scholar that the reading *kākāpeya* might actually be intentional.

We must examine the arguments offered by Max Müller to suggest the possibility of the intentional use of *kākāpeya*. Let us consider his explanation of the word *tīrtha-kākaḥ*, which he renders as "a person in a wrong place". The rule P. II. 1.42 (*dhvāṅkṣeṇa kṣepe*) says that a word in the locative case is compounded with a word meaning "crow", if the suggested meaning of the compound is blame. On this rule, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* offers following remarks :¹

"You speak of blame. In this case, what is the blame? The crows do not stand for long at a certain bathing place on the river; similarly one who goes to the residence of the teacher but does not stay there for long is called *tīrtha-kāka* 'a crow at a bathing place'".

This certainly goes against Max Müller's interpretation as "a person in a wrong place". Patañjali's explanation is repeated by all the other commentaries and hence there is no doubt about what the expression means. The commentary *Kāśikā-vṛtti* on this rule gives a counter-example :² *tīrthe dhvāṅkṣas tiṣṭhati* "a crow stands at the bathing place". Since this does not involve any blame and is a plain statement of a fact, there is no compounding.

The other factor in Max Müller's argument is that according to him crows were considered to be out of place at a *tīrtha* and that they were birds of bad omen. This leads us to consider crows in the larger context of Indian culture

1 *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, published in three vols, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1967, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 383. Patañjali says: *kṣepa ity ucyate/ka iha kṣepo nāma? yathā tīrthe kākā na ciraṁ sthātāro bhavanti, evaṁ yo guru-kulāni gatvā na ciraṁ tiṣṭhati sa tīrtha-kāka ity ucyate/*

2 *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, published with the commentaries *Nyāsa* and *Pada-mañjari* in six vols. Pracya Bharati Prakashan, 1967, vol. II, p. 59.

and literature. Again, in this respect, we do not find ourselves in agreement with Max Müller's general impression. It may be pointed out that some of the post-cremation rites require the presence of crows at a *tirtha*. This rite takes place a few days after a person's death. The ritual offering of rice-balls is placed on the bank of the river. If a crow comes and touches it, then it is believed that the dead person has no unfulfilled wishes and that his soul has attained peace. On the other hand, if no crow touches it, then it signifies that the dead person has some left-over wishes, and the relatives may make promises to the dead. If even after these promises, no crow touches the rice-balls, then the priest makes a crow out of the sacred *darbha* grass and touches the rice-balls with it. The belief is that no soul is released without the touch of the crow. The frequent occurrence of crows in the stories of *Pañcatantra*, *Hitopadeśa* etc. indicates that crows is a very common Indian bird and is not out of place on the bank of a river.

In terms of omens, crow is like a messenger bird. Cawing of a crow is believed to suggest that a person for whom one is longing is about to come home. The frequency with which crow appears in Indian literature is somewhat amazing. If a person were wasting his time, the expression was *kākasya duntān gaṇayati* "he is counting the teeth of a crow. The standard example of meaning-extension (*ajahat-svārthā lakṣaṇā*) is *kākebhyo dadhi rakṣyatām* "let curds be protected from the crows".¹ Here the meaning of the word "crow" is extended to other birds and animals who might eat curds. If someone is asking which is the house of Devadatta, the reply could be: *kākavanto devadattasya gṛhāḥ* : "that one where there is a crow is the house of Devadatta". If one and the same word is connected with two contexts, the maxim which is used is called *kākākṣi-golaka-nyāya*. This expresses the belief that for the two eyes of a crow, there is only one eye-ball, which keeps on shifting from one cavity to the other. The maxim to express coincidence is *kāka-tāliyanāya*. It refers to the story that a person by chance stands beneath a Tal tree, a crow by chance sits on the tree, a big heavy Tal-fruit falls by chance from the tree on the head of the person, and the person dies.

In a note to the translation of the Jātakas, Rouse mentions the word *kāka-guyha* "corn tall enough to hide a crow", in support of the laudatory meaning of the word *kāka-peyya*, and makes a reference to the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* on P. III. 2.5.² The *Kāśikā-vṛtti* on P. III. 2.5. mentions the example: *kāka-guhās tilāḥ*, but this expression, according to the commentators, means: "the sesame seeds which should be protected from crows".³ Of course this does not affect

1 *Vedānta-paribhāṣā*, ed. and tr. by Swami Madhavananda, Belur Math, Howrah, third edn. 1963, p. 101.

2 Jātaka Stories, tr. by Cowell and Rouse, Vol. II, p. 122, fn. 1.

3 *kāka-bhyo guhitavyāḥ, Nyāsa* on the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, Vol. II, p. 547.

Rouse's laudatory interpretation of *kāka-peyya*. He also refers to the Sanskrit Encyclopedia, *Vācaspatyam*, where it is said: "If people wish to know whether an absent friend is coming back—they say—caw, crow, if so and so is coming: and if the crows caw, they know that he will come."¹

All the Pāli dictionaries accept the laudatory meaning of *Kāka-peyya*, while the Buddhist Sanskrit Dictionary of Edgerton does not mention it at all. But as we pass from the Pāli dictionaries to Sanskrit Dictionaries, we find a total change. The Sanskrit Wörterbuch refers to the commentaries on P. II. 1.33 and explains *kāka-peyā* as: "adj. den eine Krähe austrinken kann; von einem wasserarmen Flüsse" (italics mine). The Altindische Grammatik gives the explanation: "... Übertreibendem Ausdruck .. *kāka-peya* 'von Krähen auszutrinken'".² All the other Sanskrit dictionaries interpret the phrase to refer to a shallow river. The Sanskrit Encyclopedia, *Vācaspatyam*, alone gives the laudatory meaning after referring to the commentaries on P. II. 1.33.³ It is surprising to see how the Sanskrit Wörterbuch and *Vācaspatyam* refer to the same sources and yet arrive at different interpretations.

Indian Grammarians on Kāka-Peyā Nadi

Pāṇini does not give examples for his rules. His rule P. II. 1.33 (*Kṛtyair adhikārtha-vacane*) means to say that words in instrumental case expressing either agent or instrument are compounded with words ending in the *kṛtya* affixes, if the resulting formation expresses an exaggerated statement. C. C. Vasu offers the example *kāka-peyā nadī* and says that it refers to a shallow river, so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink.⁴ On the same example, Louis Renou says: "rivière où un corbeau peut boire (en touchant le fond)".⁵

Coming to the Indian tradition, we find that neither Kātyāyana or Patañjali offer this example. The *Kāśikā-vṛtti* offers this example for the first time in the Pāṇinian tradition. It explains the term *adhikārtha-vacana* as *stuti-nindā-prayuktam adhyāropitārtha-vacanam*: "expression of imposed meaning prompted by praise or blame".⁶ Then it offers the following four examples, which I have literally translated as follows: *kāka-peyā nadī* "a crow-drinkable river",

1 Ref. fn. 2 on p. 158.

2 *Altindische Grammatik*, von Jakob Wackernagel und Albert Debrunner, Band II, 1957, p. 198.

3 *kākair anata-kandharaiḥ piyatel...pūrnodakatvena praśasye kākaiḥ peye nadādaui Vācaspatyam*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 94, pt. 3, Banaras, 1962, p. 1844.

4 *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, tr. by S. C. Vasu (1891), Reprint by Motilal Banarasisdass, Delhi, 1962, Vol. I, p. 232.

5 *La Grammaire de Pāṇini*, Texte Sanskrit, Traduction Française avec Extraits des Commentaires, par Louis Renou, Ecole Française D'Extrême Orient, Paris, 1966, Vol. I. p. 91.

6 *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, Vol. II., p. 49.

śva-lehyah kūpah "a well which could (or should only) be licked by a dog", *bāṣpa-cchedyaṃ trṇam* "grass which could be cut by tears" and *kaṇṭaka-sañceya ṍdanah* "rice which could be picked up with thorns".¹

The *Kāśikā-vṛtti* does not explain the exact meaning of these examples, nor does it say which of the examples stand for praise and which for blame. We also do not have any suggestion if each of the examples is meant in both ways. Before going to the interpretation of these examples by the commentaries on the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, it is important to see if we can find the probable source of these examples. Franz Kielhorn long ago pointed out that "the authors of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* knew that grammar (i.e. the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*) and used it in the compilation of their own work".² On his rule II. 2.16 (*kāṛakam bahulam*), Candragomin says :³

"[There is compounding] with [words ending in] the affixes *tavya* etc. to express some additional implied meaning. [For instance] : *Śva lehyah kūpah* 'a well which could (or should only) be licked by a dog' and *kāka-peyā nadi* 'a crow-drinkable river'".

Since Candragomin is a Buddhist author, we could presume that he is giving the example *kāka-peyā nadi* as an authentic example of implied praise. However, we have no exact indication as to the meaning of the other example.

I wish to venture a plausible theory about the intention of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* in giving the examples it has given. The first two examples of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* are exactly the same as those of the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*. However, the order of the examples is changed. We might ask ourselves as to why the order could have been changed. Could it be without any intention? It is possible to show that this change could very well be intentional. The *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* says that the compounding takes place if there is some additional implied meaning, but it does not specify what this additional implied meaning might be. Thus the order of the examples is immaterial. However, the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* refers to the two types of implied meaning, i.e. praise and blame. Thus the changed order in the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* seems to fit the described types of implied meaning. This would lead us to conclude that most probably *kāka-peyā nadi* and *śva-lehyah kūpah* are examples of intended praise and blame respectively. Manu says that a river is purified by its current (*Manusmṛiti* 5.108). This might indicate that a river touched by crows may not be considered impure, while a well licked by a dog may become impure and may need explicit purification. However,

1 Ibid.

2 *The Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa and the Kāśikā-vṛtti*, F. Kielhorn, The Indian Antiquary, June 1886, p. 184.

3 *tavyādibhir adhikārtha-vacane/śva-lehyah kūpah/kāka-peyā nadi/Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* of Candragomin, ed. in two vols. by K. C. Chatterji, Deccan College, Poona, 1953, Vol. I, p. 192.

this explanation may not really apply to the Buddhist usage of *kāka-peya*, since they have used this expression even to refer to non-flowing water in a laudatory sense. Thus, these expressions seem to be rather a matter of conventional usage.¹

The other two examples given by the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* may also be understood in the order of praise and blame. The expression *bāṣpacchedyaṁ tṛṇam* "grass which could be cut by tears" is definitely an example of implied praise. Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* says : *bāṣpacchedyatṛṇa-tṛptair go-dhanaiḥ* ... "by the riches of cows who were extremely satisfied with the [delicate] grass which could be cut even with tears".² This might be compared with the *Raghuvamśa* VIII.45 and *Kumārasambhava* V.12. The first instance describes Indumatī who died after being struck by a garland of flowers and compares her with a lotus which fades on account of the delicate snow fall. The second instance describes Pārvatī as being so delicate that flowers in her hair used to hurt her. The example *kaṇṭaka-sañceya odanaḥ* "rice which could be picked up by thorns" is most probably an example of implied blame.

With the commentaries of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* we begin a different stage in the interpretation of these examples. The first commentary on the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* is Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa*.³ The commentary *Nyāsa* gives two interpretations of each of the examples :

On *kāka-peyā nadī*⁴

[a] The river is so full that even crows on the bank can drink its water.

1 The instances where the term *kāka-peya* is used in the context of stagnant water are given in the beginning of this paper. The main reason why we must consider this to be a conventional term, and not try to explain it by any rational argument, is that a crow is not considered particularly auspicious even by Buddhists.

The term owes its origin most probably to the marked presence of crows on the Ghāṭas of Indian rivers. Then it became so conventional that it came to be used also in the context of *udaka-maṇika* "pale of water" and *pokkharāṇi* "well". Otherwise it is extremely hard to understand why the well decorated with seven precious jewels in the best of the Buddhist heavens should be visited by crows.

2 *Harṣacarita*, by Bāṇa, ed. by M. R. Kale, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1965, p. 42.

3 *Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta*, by K. B. Pathak, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. 12, 1930, p. 246-51. K. B. Pathak gives the dates of these three grammarians as 700 A.D., 1100 A.D. and 1300 A.D. respectively.

4 *atra sampūrṇa-toyatvodbhāvanam nadyāḥ stutiḥ, adhyāropitaḥ punar atrā.tṛṇaḥ kāka-peyatvam | evaṁ nāma sampūrṇa-tēyā nadī yat tṛṇaḥ hair api kākaiḥ śakyā pātum | ... atra yat tṛṇaḥ hair api kākaiḥ śakyā pātum | ... atra alpa-toyatvodbhāvanam nadyā nindā | ... evaṁ nāma alpa-toyā nadī yat kākair api śakyam pātum | Nyāsa on the Kāśikā-vṛtti, Vol. II. p. 49-50.*

[b] The river has so little water that even a crow could finish it up.
On *śva-lehyaḥ Kūpaḥ* ¹

[a] The well has its water so full that even a dog can lick it.

[b] The water of the well is so dirty that only dogs deserve to drink it.

On *bāṣpacchedyaṁ tṛṇam* ²

[a] The grass is so delicate that even tears could cut it.

[b] The grass is so weak that even tears could cut it.

On *kaṇṭaka-sañceya odanaḥ* ³

[a] The rice is so well cooked that it could be picked up even by a thorn.

[b] The rice is so little that it could be picked up even by a thorn.

Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the *Nyāsa*, calls himself a follower of the religion of the Bodhisattvas (*bodhi-sattva-deśīya*).⁴ If he is a Buddhist himself, why should he give two explanations of the expression *kāka-peyā nadī*, one of which is nowhere attested? Why should a Buddhist grammarian make such a mistake concerning a Buddhist usage?

Contrary to this, S. D. Joshi and J. A. F. Roodbergen are faced with an opposite problem. These are their comments :⁵

"It seems that the word *adhikārtha* in P. II. 1.33 is taken by the commentators from Kaiyaṭa onwards in the sense of exaggeration expressing either praise or blame. But the commentary *Nyāsa* on the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* on P. II. 1.33 quotes the sense of praise only for the example *kāka-peyā* '(a river) so full that a crow sitting on the bank can drink from it'. The compound *kāka-peyyā* is found in Pāli texts in the sense of praise only, see f.i. the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*. But the later commentators starting from Kaiyaṭa attribute two meanings to the compound *kāka-peyā*, one

1 *atrāpy āsannodakatvodbhāvanam kūpasya stutiḥ / ... evaṁ nāmāsannodakaḥ kūpa yataḥ śvabhir api lihyate / ... aśuddha-toyatvodbhāvanam kūpasya nindā / ... evaṁ nāmāśuciḥ kūpo yat śvabhir api lihyate / ibid.*

2 *atra mṛdavatīśayodbhāvanam tṛṇānam stutiḥ / evaṁ nāma mṛdūni tṛṇāni yad bāṣpeṇāpi śakyāni cchettum / ... kvathi-tatvodbhāvanam nindā / ... evaṁ nāma kvathitāni tṛṇāni yad bāṣpeṇāpi cchidyante / ibid.*

3 *viklinnatodbhāvanam caudanasya stutiḥ / ... evaṁ nāmaudanasya viśadatātīśayo vikledaś ca yat kaṇṭakenāpi śakyāḥ sañcetum / ... alpatvodbhāvanam nindā / evaṁ nāmālpa odano yat kaṇṭakair api cīyate iti / ibid.*

4 See Colophones of *Nyāsa*.

5 Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, *Avyayibhāva-Tatpuruṣāhnikā*, ed. with tr. and explanatory notes, by S. D. Joshi in collaboration with J.A.F. Roodbergen, University of Poona, Poona, 1969, p. 128, Fn. 817.

of praise and the other of blame. In the latter sense, the compound means a river so shallow that a crow can stand in it and drink it".

If the above statement were true, then it would appear that Jinendrabuddhi did not make a mistake. However, this statement is only due to an oversight. The *Nyāsa* in fact does give both the interpretations, as are given above. But the way these explanations are given is different from the other commentaries. Other grammarians take an example, explain both of its meanings and then pass on to the other example. On the other hand, the *Nyāsa* gives the laudatory explanations of all the examples first and then it passes to the depreciatory explanations. This has apparently caused the confusion in the comments quoted above. For a reader, at first it appears that the *Nyāsa* is giving only laudatory meanings, and only if he continues to read, he finds the other set of explanations.

The strange phenomenon in the *Nyāsa* might be a result of an older non-Buddhist tradition of interpreting the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*. Very rarely indeed Jinendrabuddhi gives an impression that his explanations are in any way Buddhist.¹ Ramashankar Bhattacharya describes Jinendrabuddhi to be more orthodox than other grammarians. According to him, Jinendrabuddhi attempts to derive the contents of all the *Vārttikas* from the original rules of Pāṇini, and carries this procedure to a ridiculous extreme.² Thus it is possible that Jinendrabuddhi was giving two explanations of *kāka-peyā nadi* by being very faithful to some older tradition of interpretation, so much so, that he even neglected his own Buddhist tradition.

After Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa*, every commentary in the tradition of Pāṇini offered two explanations of each example. From these double interpretations of all examples, one could get a wrong impression that P. II. 1.33 in fact requires such a double meaning. That is not the case. The rule just requires that there must be some exaggerated meaning, and the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* just says that this exaggerated meaning may either be praise or blame. There seems to be no evidence to authenticate the contention of the later tradition.

1 The only example that I found is as follows: *nīrvāṇo'gniḥ / nīrvāṇaḥ pradīpaḥ iti / atra svarūpaśya yaḥ praśanaḥ uparati-lakṣaṇaḥ sa dhātvarthaḥ / eṣa nīrvāṇo bhikṣur iti / atrāpi / athavā rāgādi-prahāṇaṁ dhātvarthaḥ / Nyāsa, Vol. VI, p. 417.*

2 Pāṇiniya Vyākaraṇakā Anuśilana, Ramashankar Bhattacharya, Indological Book House, Banaras, 1966, p. 21.

A NOTE ON BṚHADDEVATĀ 5.90*

By

P. D. NAVATHE, Poona

The verse which is numbered as 5.90 in MACDONELL's edition of the *Bṛhaddevatā*¹ enumerates the divinities of the hymn *pra vo mahe* — RV 5.87 and states that it is known as *Evayāmarut*. Then it refers to the hymn *dyaur na ya indra* — RV 6.20 which is connected with aforesaid hymn in certain ritualistic contexts.

1. The verse² reads as follows :

*viṣṇunyaṅgam param preti
mārutam sūktam uttamam |
evayāmarud ākhyātām
dyaur naindre pratipūrvakam ||*

MACDONELL translates³ :

The following hymn 'Forth' (*pra* : V. 87), the last (of the Maṇḍala), is addressed to the Maruts while making incidental mention of Viṣṇu (*viṣṇunyaṅgam*).

It is called *Evayāmarut*, being the antecedent (*pratipūrvaka*) in the (case of the) Indra-hymn 'As Heaven' (*dyaur na* : VI.20).

In his notes to the translation MACDONELL further explains the expression *pratipūrvaka* as follows :

'That is, the hymn for which another may be substituted', and finally concludes : 'That this must be the meaning of the word (which has not been noted elsewhere) appears from AB VI.30.15 and the comments on the passage, of Sāyaṇa — — —'.

2. It appears to me that the interpretation of the expression *pratipūrvakam* offered by MACDONELL is not at all convincing. It will be clear from his notes that it is only conjectural. Secondly, I think that the reading *naindre* adopted by MACDONELL is questionable because it creates syntactical difficulties. With this reading it is hardly possible to construe the last quarter with the rest of the verse. The object of the present note is to discuss these two points.

* A paper submitted to the All India Oriental Conference, XXVI Session, Ujjain, October, 1972.

1 Parts I and II reprinted by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi: Varanasi: Patna, 1965.

2 Part I, p. 57.

3 Part II, p. 188.

3. MACDONELL's rendering of the expression *pratipūrvakam* is objectionable for the following reason. He does not explain whether the meaning, assigned to it by him, is either primary or secondary. For his explanation he entirely depends on the authority of the Brāhmaṇa passage and the remarks of the scholiast thereon. Now this authority, which is cited by him, is relevant so far as the ritualistic connection between the two hymns is concerned. As for the meaning of the expression, it is hardly of any use.

The connotation of the given expression can be properly determined by examining its grammatical formation and studying the parallel usage which is recorded in the literature.

3.1 Let us consider the grammatical formation. *Pratipūrvakam* is a compound with the preposition *prati* as the first member and the adjective *pūrvaka* which is same as *pūrva* 'preceding, previous', as the second. Exhaustive lists of compounds with *pūrva* and *pūrvaka* as the second member are recorded in the *Vaidika-Padānukrama-Koṣa* Vol. 15(a), Index II, AB ULTIMO¹ which is published by the V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1965.

A close study of these occurrences, which embrace the entire range of the Vedic literature, shows that *pūrva* or *pūrvaka* as the second member forms (a) adverbial compounds (e.g. *vidhipūrvakam snātvā* 'having bathed as directed', *Gautama Dharmasūtra* 9.1 ; *tena saimbhāṣya* — — — *ajñānapūrvam* 'having conversed with him inadvertently' *ibid.* 20.8) and (b) possessive adjectival compounds (e.g. *daivapūrvam śrāddham* 'a Śrāddha-rite preceded by a rite performed in honour of the gods', *Gautama Pitrmedhasūtra* 2.2.18) which denote accompaniment or rather precedence.² The latter category, again, has two sub-divisions according as the first member has a semantic (e.g. *sattvapūrvō bhāvaḥ* 'a becoming preceded by a being', *Nirukta* 1.13 ; *udātta-pūrvam svaritam* — — — *akṣaram* 'a circumflex syllable preceded by an acute', *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya* 3.7) or a formal value (e.g. *kadā na-riṣyema-pūrvam* 'the word *kadā* preceded by *na riṣyema*', *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* 2.23 ; *upapūrvam api tv eke* — — — *Brahmasūtra* 3.4.42 (where *upapūrvam* qualifies the noun *patana*³ which is to be supplied from the previous Sūtra) 'But some (consider the sin) a minor one' [THIBAUT]).

3.2. The foregoing discussion shows that the occurrences of compounds of this type are quite frequent in the ancillary Vedic texts, a class of literature to which the *Brhaddevatā* belongs. It would, therefore, be appropriate to consider the type and meaning of the compound *pratipūrvakam* on the analogy of

¹ See pp. 14, 351-2.

² Cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* § 1302 f.

³ Cf. 'upa' padam pūrvam yasya patanasya tad upapūrvam iti vyākaroti / as glossed by Ānandagiri.

such formations showing the same pattern. Considered from this point of view, *pratipūrvakam* is a possessive adjectival compound with the first member having formal value. As an adjective it qualifies the substantive *evayāmarut* and should be rendered as 'preceded by the word *prati*'. The phrase *pratipūrvakam evayāmarut* is equivalent to *pratyevayāmarut* which is, therefore, to be regarded as the title of the hymn *dyaurnā* — RV 6.20 mentioned in this verse. The significance of this title will be explained later on.

It may incidentally be mentioned here that the use of such compounds with the first member indicating the formal character of the word is also found to be continued in the celebrated works of eminent classical authors.¹

4.0 We may now turn to the reading *naindre* in the last quarter of the verse. According to MACDONELL's statement,² he is required to correct the text of the *Bṛhaddevatā* in about 107 places owing to the utterly corrupt nature of the Mss. Out of this total number of corrections 28 occur in Adhyāya V which contains the verse under discussion. MACDONELL notes that the second half of this verse is totally missing in one of the two groups of MSS used by him,³ while the remaining ones read the word in an extremely corrupt manner. Instead of *naindre* they have *naidre*, *nedrai* and *nendre*. As none of these readings gives any sense, MACDONELL naturally emends the text. His emendation is *naindre*. But I think that even with this emendation the text does not become faultless. *aindre* is a very uncomfortable locative as it cannot be satisfactorily construed. The construction *aindre pratipūrvakam* of MACDONELL is unknown to Sanskrit case-syntax. It may be further noticed that he treats *dyaurnā naindre pratipūrvakam* as an adjectival phrase qualifying *preti sūktam* in the first half. But this construction is very clumsy and unnatural.

It may thus be noticed that MACDONELL's emendation does not prove to be sound and hence it cannot be accepted. His interpretation of the last quarter is equally unsatisfactory as it involves strange constructions.

4.1. I, therefore, propose to read the last quarter as *dyaurnā naindraṁ pratipūrvakam*! I should also like to offer my interpretation of the same.

1 Cf. *daśapūrvavarathaiṁ yam ākhyayā*
daśakaṇṭhārigurum vidur budhāḥ |

Raghuvamśa 8.29 cd.

nicair vāsyaty upajigamiṣor devapūrvam giriti te śito vāyuh... *Meghadūta* 1.46 cd.
yam indrasabdārthanīśūdanam hare-
hiraṇyapūrvam Kaśipuṁ pracakṣate |

Śiṣupālavadha 1.42 cd.

The word *upapada* is used instead of *pūrva* in
dhanurupapadamasmai vedam adhyādideśa | *Kirātārjuniya* 1.44 d.

2 Part I, Introduction, p. xxiv ff.

3 It is not found also in 4 Mss used for the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Bṛhaddevatā*.

As regards the rendering of the first three quarters I am in full agreement with MACDONELL. With the proposed emendation I construe the line as: *dyaurnā (iti) aindran (sūktam) pratipūrvakam (evayāmarut ākhyātam)* and translate it as: '(while) the hymn beginning with the words *dyaurnā* — R̥V 6.20 which is addressed to Indra bears the title *evayāmarut* preceded by the word *prati* (i.e. it is called *Pratyevayāmarut* which means 'a substitute for the *Evayāmarut*').

The verse thus contains two sentences instead of one and has a simpler construction.

4.2. The interpretation of *pratipūrvakam evayāmarut* which is suggested here is supported by the usage found in the ritualistic literature. The expression *Pratyevayāmarut* as the title of the hymn R̥V 6.20 is attested in the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* in the passage *dyaurnā ya indrety acchāvākaḥ | pratyevayāmarut ity etad ācakṣate* | 8.4.10, 11 'The Acchāvāka should recite the hymn *dyaurnā ya indra* — R̥V 6.20. They style this hymn as *Pratyevayāmarut* (i.e. a substitute for the *Evayāmarut*)'. The Sūtra-word *ācakṣate* indicates a reference to some earlier authority. It is probable that *Āśvalāyana* is here referring to the *Bṛhaddevatā*, a work of Śaunaka, who is traditionally known as his teacher.

Sāyana's commentary on the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VI. 30.15, to which MACDONELL refers,¹ contains the word *pratyevayāmarut* as the title of the hymn R̥V 6.20. It is difficult to say whether MACDONELL has ignored it or it has escaped his attention.

Pratyevayāmarut as the title of a hymn is comparable with a similar formation *Pratinābhānediṣṭha*, which occurs in the passage *prā vaḥ pāntam raghumanyavo' ndhaḥ* (R̥V 1.122.1), *taṁ pratnathā pūrvathā viśvathemathā* (ibid. 5.44.1), *kad itihā nṛ̐ḥ pātram devayatām* (ibid. 1.121.1) *iti pratinābhānediṣṭhaḥ | Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* 24.9. Each of these three passages should be recited in place of the *Nābhānediṣṭha* respectively on each of the three *Svarasāmans*.

5. The relation between the two hymns entitled *Evayāmarut* and *Pratyevayāmarut* will be clear from their employment in the ritual which is briefly explained below.²

The hymn R̥V 5-87 is traditionally known as *Evayāmarut* because it is composed by the sage bearing the same name. It is one of the four hymns which form the basis of the *Śastras* which are known as *Śilpas*. They are so

1 Read: [eso'cchāvākaḥ...evayāmarutaṁ tyaktvā dyaurnā ya indrety pratyevayāmaruṇmākaṁ yad aindran sūktam...śaṁsatu | Thus the Bibliotheca Indica edition Vol. III, p. 380. The Ānandāśrama edition, however, reads the passage as: "°dyaurnā ya indretyevayā", which is defective as it omits two letters.

2 Cf. AitBr 6.27-30; ĀśvSS 8.3-4.

called because of their highly artistic character. These are to be recited at the third pressing on the sixth day of the *Prṣṭhya Śaḍaha* and also on the *Viśvajit* sacrifice. Each of the four priests belonging to the Hotṛ's group is assigned a particular *Śastra* from these four. The *Śastra* based on the *Evayāmarut* is to be recited by the *Acchāvāka*.

This is the normal procedure, prescribed for the employment of the *Śilpa Śastras*, to which there are certain exceptions. If the sixth day of the *Prṣṭhya* series and the *Viśvajit* sacrifice are of the *Agniṣṭoma* type and if at the third pressing the *Chandogas* do not chant on the *dvipadā* verses, then the *Śilpas* should be recited at the midday-pressing and not at the third pressing as usual. Again, there is an additional change in the case of *Acchāvāka*. Instead of the regular hymn *Evayāmarut* (RV 5.87), the hymn *dyaus na ya indra* — — — RV 6.20 forms the basis of his *Śastra*. As in this case the latter is substituted for the former it is appropriately called *Pratyevayāmarut*.

AṢṬAKA VAISVĀMITRA : A STUDY

By

UMESH CHANDRA SHARMA, Poona

The third *Maṇḍala* of the *RV* has been ascribed to the seership of Viśvāmitra. Apparently the hymns of the other members of the Viśvāmitra family have also found place in this *Maṇḍala*. The Viśvāmitras have played a significant role in the making of the history of pre-Bhārat war India. Therefore, it is necessary to present neat and vivid biographical details of the members belonging to the family of Viśvāmitra based on the matter available in the Vedic and the post-Vedic sources. From this point of view, it is attempted to study various aspects concerning Aṣṭaka, one of the sons of Viśvāmitra.

There are certain seers belonging to the Viśvāmitra family, whose hymns do not find place in the third *Maṇḍala*, the family *Maṇḍala* of the Viśvāmitras. Aṣṭaka is one among them. He is said to be the seer¹ of the *RV* X. 104. This hymn is addressed to Indra and comprises eleven verses in all. Nothing special is found in these verses which can be regarded as important from the sociological or the historical point of view. The last verse of this hymn is also the concluding verse of several hymns of the Viśvāmitras in *Maṇḍala* III.²

One does not come across any verse of Aṣṭaka in the *YV* and the *SV*. The *AV* XX.33, which is ascribed to Aṣṭaka has three verses in all, which are repetitions from among the verses of the *RV* X. 104.

The *Brāhmaṇa* texts, of course, mention him specifically. In the *AB*,³ he is mentioned as one among the sons of Viśvāmitra, in connection with the legend of Śunaśśepa. Viśvāmitra officiated as the *Hotṛ* priest in the so-called sacrifice of Śunaśśepa, where the latter was offered as a victim (*bali*). The names of the other brothers of Aṣṭaka are given here as—Madhucchandasa, Reṇu, Rṣabha & c.

1 *Survā*, ed. by MACDONELL, p. 42 (X. 104)—

असाव्येकादशाष्टको वैश्वामित्रः ।

The *VD*, p. 159 (X. 104), mentions—

अष्टको नाम विश्वामित्रपुत्रः ।

2 Cf. *RV* X. 104.11.

शुनं हुवेम मघवानमिन्द्रं..... ।

..../ which is also repeated as—*RV* III.30.22; 31.22; 32.17;

34.11; 35.11; 36.11; 38.10; 39.9; 43.8; 48.5; 49.5; 50.5; 40.89.

3. *AB*. VII. 17. Cf.

मधुच्छन्दाः शृणोतन ऋषभो रेणुरष्टकः ये के च भ्रातरः नास्मै ज्यैष्ठ्याय कल्पवृमिति ।

Cf. Also §§§ XV.26.

Only this much has been asserted here that Aṣṭaka etc. under the leadership of Madhucchandas approved of Viśvāmitra's action to adopt Śunaśśepa (Devarāta) as his own son and of giving the highest place to him among his other sons.

In the *JB*, Aṣṭaka has been mentioned as the son of Viśvāmitra in connection with the *Ṛṣi-stomas*. "Ṛṣis wanted to win heavenly abode by virtue of exertion, penance and observance of vows. They desired to go to Heaven after installing properly their offspring in this world.... Then Viśvāmitra desired—my offspring should go for kingship. He saw *trayaśtrimśa-stoma* (the *stoma* consisting of thirty-three chants). He brought it forth; performed sacrifice with it. The thirty-three *stomas* are meant for power. Therefore, his offspring got kingdom. He installed Aṣṭaka over this offspring. He who knows this *stoma* gets kingdom. In this way they (*Ṛṣis*) went to Heaven after installing their offspring in this world"¹. The most significant point of information, one gets from the above-mentioned tale, is that Viśvāmitra's successor to kingdom was Aṣṭaka.

So, the historically significant material which one gets from both the *Brāhmaṇa* texts, is that Aṣṭaka was present at the time of Śunaśśepa's sacrifice and that he humbly obeyed his father's orders—and that he was the successor of Viśvāmitra to the kingdom. Why his other brothers were not given this place of honour, is a pertinent question which arises at this juncture. Perhaps, it might be possible that Aṣṭaka was the eldest of them. But, the *AB* mentions that Madhucchandas was the eldest among the sons of Viśvāmitra and was dear to his father due to his unscrupulous support to him. There might have been some other cause for this special honour given to Aṣṭaka. Another point is that the Viśvāmitras were royal by temperament and deeds. They were quite adept in seership and priesthood as well kingship.

Aṣṭaka is not referred to in the Upaniṣadic texts. But, according to the *Sūtra* texts, he was a famous *pravara-ṛṣi*. It has been stated here that among the Viśvāmitras, the Aṣṭaka—Lohitas have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*, i.e. Vaiśvāmitra, Āṣṭaka and Lauhita.² According to some other texts there were only two *pravaras*, i.e. Viśvāmitra and Āṣṭaka.³ Still some other texts mention three *pravaras*, i.e. Viśvāmitra, Mādhuucchandas and Āṣṭaka.⁴ This all shows his importance as a *gotrakāra-ṛṣi*.

There is no reference to Aṣṭaka in the *Rām*. One of his brothers, Madhucchandas has often been mentioned in this text. It is surprising that the

1 *JB*, CALAND's Edition, 145,....

ततो वै तस्य राज्यं प्रजागच्छदष्टको हास्य प्रजायामभिषिञ्चे ।

2 *BSS* (P). 32.

3 *ApSS* XXIV. 9.7-8; *HiSS* XXI. 3.12.

4 *AS* XII. 14.4.

Rām, which relates to the exploits of Viśvāmitra in great details, avoids the mention of Aṣṭaka, who was so prominent among Viśvāmitra's sons that he became his *heir-apparent*.

But, in the *MBh*, he is frequently mentioned as a celebrated *rājaṛṣi*. Aṣṭaka is said to be son of Viśvāmitra through Mādhavī, daughter of King Yayāti. Therefore, Yayāti was maternal grandfather of Aṣṭaka. Yayāti went to Heaven for the second time, in the company of kings Vasumanas, Aṣṭaka, Śibi and Pratar-dana.¹ A learned discourse took place there between Yayāti and Aṣṭaka on various philosophical and worldly topics.² When Aṣṭaka asked Yayāti about the latter's identity, Yayāti told him—"I am Yayāti, son of Nahuṣa, father of Pūru and maternal grandfather (*mātāmaha*) of yours."³ Yayāti got Heaven through the efforts of his four grandsons—Vasumanas, Aṣṭaka, Śibi and Pratar-dana.⁴ At several other place in the *MBh*, Aṣṭaka has been mentioned as a great and much honoured king.⁵ Pratar-dana, Vasumanas, Śibi and Aṣṭaka performed the Vājapeya sacrifice to please Indra.⁶

In the legend of Gālava,⁷ the circumstances leading to the birth of Aṣṭaka are narrated. Gālava was the pupil of Viśvāmitra. He was much devoted to his *Guru*. Being pleased Viśvāmitra allowed him to go after the completion of his studies. Viśvāmitra did not like to accept any *guru-dakṣiṇā*. But Gālava insisted to give something. This irritated Viśvāmitra and he asked Gālava to present eight hundred white steeds each with one ear black. This type of horses was not easily available. On the advice of his friend Suparṇa, they (Gālava and Suparṇa) wandered all over the world. Finally, they came to Pratiṣṭhāna, kingdom of Yayāti and asked for that type of horses. Yayāti did not have them. Instead, he offered his beautiful daughter Mādhavī, telling that they could easily get the horses of that description, from the kings who had them, by setting her as price. Bewitched by her beauty, they could even part away with their kingdoms. At this stage, Suparṇa took leave of Gālava.

First of all, Gālava went with Mādhavī to Haryaśva, king of Ayodhyā, who was childless. The king had only two hundred horses of said variety. He offered them to Gālava and requested that he wanted to beget one son through her. Mādhavī told Gālava that she had a boon from certain sage that she would remain virgin even after giving birth to any number of issues. So, he might collect the required number of horses from as many kings as he liked.

1 *MBh* I. 81.5.

2 *Ibid.* I. 83-88.

3 *Ibid.* I. 88. 20-22.

4 *Ibid.* I. 88.26.

5 *Ibid.* III.91. 8-9; IV.51. 9-10; XIII.96.5, 36; 151.45.

6 *Ibid.* V.119.10.

7 *Ibid.* V.104-117.

Gālava granted the request of Haryaśva who got a son named Vasumanas from her. Then he went to Divodāsa of Kāśī with that maiden. Divodāsa got the son Pratardana from her and presented to Gālava another two hundred horses of that description. After this, he went to Uśīnara of Bhojanagara with her. Uśīnara got the son Śibi from her and offered Gālava with another two hundred horses of that type. Unfortunately, they could not find a fourth king for the said purpose. Suparṇa came again and advised Gālava that he should present those six hundred horses to Viśvāmitra along with Mādhavī in lieu of remaining number of two hundred if Viśvāmitra accepted that condition.

Gālava did the same. Not only Viśvāmitra agreed to that proposal but also he told Gālava why he did not offer her first to him so he could have got four sons to propagate his race. Thus, Viśvāmitra begot Aṣṭaka through Mādhavī and liberated her as well as Gālava of their obligations. Gālava went for penance and the maiden went to her father; Aṣṭaka went to city and Viśvāmitra to forest.¹

Thus, the above story makes Aṣṭaka son of Viśvāmitra and Mādhavī. But, the events referred to therein seem to be unbelievable to a great extent. One can hardly believe in the unaffected virginhood of Mādhavī. Another chronologically significant point which arises out of the above legend is that the contemporaneity of the four kings, viz., Yayāti, Haryaśva, Uśīnara and Divodāsa is doubtful. PARGITER,² a great authority on ancient Indian genealogies has rightly showed its absurdity taking into account, the details found in the *MBh.* and the *Purāṇas*. He puts forth three arguments in this connection. First, Uśīnara was a descendant of Anu, son of Yayāti, by some generations. Secondly, Viśvāmitra was a distant descendant in the Kānyakubja line, which sprang out of the Aila race just before Yayāti's time. Thirdly, Gālava was Viśvāmitra's own son. The legend connives at this fact. The list of genealogies given by him sheds a volume of light on these errors.³ Therefore, it becomes clear that the legend referred to above does not carry much historicity. But it is presented here in full details lest one may miss any historically significant point.

The *Purāṇas* also mention Aṣṭaka variously. He is said to be a Kauśika and one among the sons and grandsons of Viśvāmitra. The others are — Devarāta (Śunaśśepa), Hārīta, Jaya, Kratu (Kata), Madhucchandasa, Dhanañjaya, Kacchapa, Pūraṇa, Aghamarṣaṇa, Lohita (Lauhi?), Reṇu etc.⁴ In another context, he has been referred to as son of Viśvāmitra and Dṛṣadvatī; and father of Lauhi.⁵ Yayāti went to Heaven with Aṣṭaka, Pratardana, Śibi

1 *Ibid.* V. 117. 14-23.

2 *AIHT* pp. 142-143.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 144-149.

4 *BhāP* IX. 16.36; *VīP* IV. 7. 37-39; *BdP* II. 32. 117-119; III. 66. 68-69; *VāP* 91. 96-97.

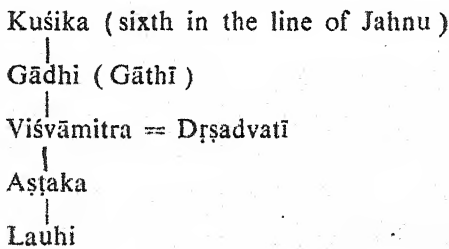
5 *BdP* III. 66.75; *VāP* 91.103.

and Vasumanas. A dialogue¹ between Yayāti and Aṣṭaka took place on various worldly and ethical topics.² Here also Yayāti has been said to be the maternal grandfather of Aṣṭaka.³

Thus, it can be seen that Aṣṭaka has been mentioned in one context or other in the Vedic as well as post-Vedic literature. All the texts agree that he was son of Viśvāmitra. The Vedic texts do not refer to the name of his mother. The *MBh* gives the name of his mother as Mādhavī. The *BḍP* and the *VāP* say that his mother was Dṛṣadvatī. (see above). The view of the *MBh*, that he was son of Mādhavī, does not seem to be historically true; because the story of Gālava, in which the said relationship is mentioned, seem to be highly exaggerated due to controversial relationship of Mādhavī with the kings who seem to belong to different ages. It has been already established by PARGITER, that these kings belonged to different generations. Therefore, one has to dismiss the assertion that Aṣṭaka was son of Mādhavī, the daughter of Yayāti.

The second version given by the *Purāṇas*, that his mother was Dṛṣadvatī, is also not very much historically credible, because it is not supported by the Vedic evidence. But one can give some credence to it because it has been mentioned by two texts at least, viz the *BḍP* and the *VāP*. The name of Aṣṭaka's son has been given as Lauhi by both these texts. This fact has been slightly corroborated by the Vedic texts. The *Sūtras* refer to Lauhita *pravara* among the Aṣṭaka-Lohitas, as has been seen above. Therefore, it is certain that Lauhi or Lohita has some Vedic background.

Accordingly, one can show his place in the Viśvāmitra-family in the following manner :—



Finally, one can say that Aṣṭaka had been an important personality belonging to the Vedic age. He contributed to the *RV Saṃhitā*. The *AB* mentions him to be present at the human sacrifice in which Śunaśśepa and Viśvāmitra were involved. The *JB* states that he was the successor of Viśvāmitra to the throne. PARGITER refers to Lauhi as the successor of Aṣṭaka. The *Sūtras* refer to him as a *pravara-ṛṣi*. The *MBh* also refers to Aṣṭaka in the *Gālavacaritam*,

1 *MaP* 35.5.

2 *MaP* 37-42.

3 *MaP* 38.11.

but the story there seems to be incredible due to anachronism and other deficiencies listed above. The *Purāṇas* ascribe to him definite and important place in the family of the Viśvāmitras. So, one can arrive at the conclusion that all these references and narrations relate to Aṣṭaka, son of Viśvāmitra and the seer of a hymn in the *RV*. He was a 'rājarsi' in the literal sense of the word.

Abbreviations

AB	= Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
AIHT	= Ancient Indian Historical Tradition (Pargiter)
ĀpŚS	= Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra.
ĀśŚS	= Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
AV	= Atharvaveda.
BḍP	= Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.
BhāP	= Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
BŚS(P)	= Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (Pravara Khaṇḍa)
HirŚS	= Hiranyakeśi Śrauta Sūtra.
JB	= Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa.
MaP	= Matsya Purāṇa.
MBh	= Mahābhārata.
Rām	= Rāmāyaṇa.
RV	= Ṛgveda.
Sarvā	= Sarvānukramanī
ŚŚS	= Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
SV	= Sāmaveda.
VāP	= Vāyu Purāṇa.
ViP	= Viṣṇu Purāṇa.
VD	= Vedārtha Dīpikā.
YV	= Yajurveda.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA AS DESCRIBED IN THE SHE-KIA-FANG-CHE

By

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Besides the account of Yuan Chwang and his biography by Hwui-li, the She-kia-Fang-Che (The land of the Śākya Muni) is an important source which enables us to see India through Chinese eyes. It was written by Tao-si-yan a friend of Yuan Chwang in the 7th century A.D. during the T'ang period of Chinese history, which saw frequent and fruitful contacts between China and India. Although the She-kia-Fang-Che is primarily a geographical account of India, valuable information about the religious life of the Yin-tu-jen or the Indians could be gleaned from it by piecing together the relevant references.

India is called Yin-tu and is described as being situated to the south of China, having the great ocean on three sides and the great snow mountain¹ on the north.² According to Tao-si-yan's account Buddhism appears to have been the predominant religion of India. Places like An-ta-lo (Āndhra), Fa-la-pi (Valabhī), Ka-leng-ka (Kaliṅga), Ka-mo-lu-pa (Kāmarūpa), Ka-no-ku-she (Kānyakubja), Ka-pi-lo-fa-sa-tu (Kapilavastu), Ka-ssu-mi-lo (Kāśmīra), Ka-ye (Gayā), Kan-to'-lo (Gandhāra), Kao-shang-mi (Kośāmbī), Kou-so-lo (Kośāla), Mo-kie-to' (Magadha) Na-lana-to' (Nālandā), P'o-ta-li-pu (Pāṭali-putra), Pu-lu-sha-pu-lu (Puruṣapura), Sin-tu (Sind), Sa-t'a-ni-ssu-fa-lo (Sthāneśvara), San-mo-ta-ta (Samaṭaṭa), Ta-cha-shi-lo (Takṣaśilā) and Tan-mo-li-ti (Tāmralipti) etc. had numerous monasteries, with hundreds of monks and nuns. Tao-si-yan speaks of the two principal sects of Buddhism, the Hīnayāna³ and the Mahāyāna⁴ and also the Sarvāstivāda⁵ sect of the Hīnayāna. However, he makes no mention of the well-known sects of the Mahāyāna like the Mādhyamika and the Vijñānavāda.

The Mahāyāna Buddhists worshipped, besides the Buddha, Bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara,⁶ Maitreya,⁷ Vajrapāṇi⁸ and Tārā.⁹ Their images¹⁰ and

1 The obvious reference is to the Himālaya.

2 She-kia-Fang-Che (P.C. Bagchi's English trans. Viśva-Bhārati, 1959), p. 36.

3 She-kia-Fang-che: pp. 54, 55, 61.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid, pp. 49, 70.

6 Ibid, p. 115.

7 Ibid, p. 114.

8 Ibid, p. 111.

9 Ibid, p. 100.

10 Ibid, p. 88.

stupas¹ were worshipped. The images were generally made of gold, silver, copper, stone or wood.² The Bhikṣus and the Bhikṣuṇīs generally met in assemblies to worship the stupas or images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas.³ Sometimes at these assemblies, sacred Buddhist texts like the *Tripiṭaka* were also discussed.⁴ Every year on the full moon day of the month of Vaiśākha when the Buddha was born, the monks took out the relics of the Buddha in a procession.⁵ The She-kia-Fang-Che has a special word of praise for the Indian king who ruled with his widowed younger sister⁶ and was a great patron of Buddhism. This king could be none other than emperor Harṣa, whose association with his younger widowed sister Rājyaśrī and his patronage of Buddhism are well-known. According to Tao-si-yan he built numerous Saṃghārāmas⁷ for monks. At five yearly assemblies, he made liberal charities to the Buddhist monks on the first day. It was only afterwards that he made gifts to the Po-lo-men or the Brāhmanas.⁸

A number of Buddhist legends were so popular in India of the 7th century, A.D. that Yuan Chwang heard of them during his Indian travels and back home in China, he did not forget to narrate them for the benefit of this friend Tao-si-yan who recorded them in the She-kia-Fang-Che. The popularity of these Buddhist legends unmistakably suggests the hold which Buddhism enjoyed on the popular mind in India. Some of these legends, recorded by Tao-si-yan in the She-kia-Fang-che, are mentioned below.

In a former birth Buddha as a pigeon threw himself into the fire for the hunter to eat, at the site of the stupa at Mai-ta-kia-lo (Manikyāla).⁹

In former times Buddha as a king offered his flesh to a hawk so that it may release the pigeon that it had caught. According to the She-kia-Fang-Che it happened at the site of the Mo-ha-fa-no (Mahāvana) monastery.¹⁰

Buddha as the pea-cock king in former times, dug up a spring with his beak, for curing other's diseases with its water. The legend was popular with the Buddhists of the Shan-ni-lo (Sanirāja) valley.¹¹

1 Ibid, p. 46.

2 Ibid, p. 51.

3 Ibid, p. 51.

4 Ibid, p. 47.

5 Ibid, p. 90.

6 Ibid, p. 57

7 Ibid, p. 57-58

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid, p. 101; Cf. The Kapota Jātaka.

10 Ibid, p. 43; Cf. The Sivi Jātaka.

11 Ibid, p. 44; The Sanirāja Valley was situated near Swāt. See Watters, ' On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 235.

Buddha as king Maitribala in a previous birth drew blood from his body to feed the five yakṣas. According to Tao-si-yan, the Buddhists built a stupa in the Shan-ni-lo (Sanirāja) valley to commemorate the event.¹

According to the legend associated with the stupa at Mo-tu-lo (Mathurā), as mentioned in the She-kia-Fang-Che, monkeys offered honey to the Buddha with affection at the site of this stupa.²

Buddha as deer king saved his fellow beasts. This was believed to have happened at Kiu-shē-kie-lo-pu-lo (Kuśāgrapura).³

Buddha restored the vision of 500 robbers, whom king Prasenajit had got blinded. This legend was popular with the people of She-lo-fa-si-ti (Śrāvastī).⁴

Buddha as a hare in a previous birth, burnt his body, out of disgust at being too small in comparison to the other creatures and the Gods placed its shadow in the moon, to please his soul. According to Tao-si-yan, the stupa near Po-lo-ni-se (Vārāṇasī) commemorated the happening.⁵

Buddha as a hunter in former times did not kill a pregnant deer. This was believed to have occurred in a forest near Po-lo-ni-se (Vārāṇasī).⁶

Buddha in former times as a six tusked elephant king, made a gift of his tusks to a hunter clad in a religious robe. The Buddhists of Po-lo-ni-se (Vārāṇasī) often talked of this legend.⁷

Buddha went to heaven from the Jeta forest to preach law to his mother for three months and then came back. According to the She-kia-Fang-Che, it was at the site of the present stupa of Kie-pi-ta (Sankiśā) that the Buddha landed after visiting heaven.⁸

Buddha in a former birth as a prince offered his flesh to a hungry tiger. This was believed to have happened at Ta-cha-shi-lo (Takṣaśilā) where the Buddhists built a stupa.⁹

Buddha converted a yakṣa and persuaded him not to eat flesh. According to Tao-si-yan, the Buddhists believed that it had happened at the site of the stupa of Ta-cha-she-lo (Takṣaśilā).¹⁰

1 Ibid, p. 44.

2 Ibid, p. 52.

3 Ibid, pp. 70-71; Cf. The Miga (Mṛga) Jātaka; Kuśāgrapura was situated near Magadha. See Watters' On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India ' Vol. II, pp. 148-149.

4 Ibid, p. 66.

5 Ibid, p. 73; Cf. The Sasa Jātaka.

6 Ibid, p. 73; Cf. The Nigrodha Miga (Mṛga) Jātaka.

7 Ibid, p. 73; Cf. The Chaddanta Jātaka.

8 Ibid, p. 56.

9 Ibid, p. 46.

10 Ibid, p. 47.

In former times Buddha as king Sa-po-ta-lo (Sarvadatta) lost his kingdom, left his country, became poor and finally offered himself for a price. This legend, as mentioned in the She-kia-Fang-Che, was quite popular with the monks of the Mo-ho-fa-na (Mahāvāna) monastery.¹

Buddha transformed himself into a serpent and the sick got cured by eating its flesh. This legend was associated with the stupas in the Shan-ni-lo (Sanirāja) valley.²

Buddha produced five lions from his finger tips to subdue the mad elephant of Deka Datta. This miracle was believed to have happened at the site of the stupa of Kiu-she-kie-lo-pu-lo (Kuśāgrapura).³

Another fact which goes to show the popularity of Buddhism is that at some places like Hi-lo (Hiḍḍa) people even paid tax to have just a look at the relics of the Buddha, preserved in certain monasteries.⁴

Like any community the Buddhists were not free from religious superstitions and Tao-si-yan describes them at length. Buddhists of Ka-ye (Gayā) believed that by walking round the image of Kāśyapa Bodhisattva, one could obtain knowledge of one's previous birth.⁵ Similarly they believed that by besmearing the image of the Buddha with scented earth, the sick could be cured.⁶ According to monks of the city of Hi-lo (Hiḍḍa), as mentioned in the She-kia-Fang-Che, one could know one's luck, good or bad, by taking the impression of a relic of the Buddha on fragrant mud. If the impression was clear, it indicated good luck or vice-versa.⁷ Buddhists brethren of Ka-pi-lo-fa-sa-tu (Kapilavastu) held the superstition that the sick could get cured by drinking the water of a spring, created by the arrow of the Buddha, when he was a prince.⁸ Monks and nuns in and around Ta-Cha-she-lo (Takṣaśilā) held the belief that by worshipping the stupas leprosy and other diseases could be cured.⁹

The She-kia-Fang-Che praises the Buddhist monks and nuns for the purity of their virtue and high learning¹⁰ and says that they resorted to fasting as a means of purifying their thoughts.¹¹ However, it also furnishes evidence to show that moral decadence was beginning to set in in the Buddhist order. Thus, for

1 Ibid, p. 43.

2 Ibid, p. 43.

3 Ibid, p. 93.

4 Ibid, p. 38.

5 Ibid, p. 88.

6 Ibid, p. 89.

7 Ibid, p. 38: Hiḍḍa is a place situated near Jalālābād, See Watters " On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India ", Vol. I, p. 185.

8 Ibid, p. 68.

9 Ibid, p. 46.

10 Ibid, p. 49.

11 Ibid, p. 104.

instance, Tao-si-yan says that mostly the monks and nuns lived in the same monastery¹ and that at the end of the rains they enjoyed dance and music in the secluded quiet of the forests.² Some of them even resorted to magic and charms for securing their ends.³ It does indicate that the Buddhist monks and nuns were beginning to give themselves up to a life of pleasure, turning away from the ideal of strict moral discipline, set for them by the Buddha. As we know, this moral degradation was one of the chief factors responsible for the decline of Buddhism in India.

The She-kia-Fang-Che refers to the non-Buddhists as heretics,⁴ whose Deva-temples were as numerous as the monasteries of the Buddhists. Tao-si-yan speaks of ash-besmearing people quite often.⁵ They might have been the Pāsupatas. He also refers to the heretics who worshipped Śiva in the Liṅga form⁶ or the Sun-God.⁷ Some of the non-Buddhists also believed in and worshipped ghosts and spirits.⁸ However, surprisingly enough, the She-kia-Fang-Che makes no mention of the Vaiṣṇavas or the Jainas.

Like the Buddhists, the non-Buddhists also had their religious superstitions. According to the She-kia-Fang-Che, their most common superstition related to the king-kia or the River Ganges. The non-Buddhists believed, as mentioned in the She-kia-Fang-Che, that the water of the king-kia or the Ganges could wash away the sins. It was commonly believed that if those who were tired of life, drowned themselves in its waters, they would be born in heaven and get happiness of all kinds.⁹

However, while Tao-si-yan praises the Buddhists for their high morals, although moral decadence was beginning to creep into the Buddhist order, as we have seen above, he assails the non-Buddhists of places like Sin-tu (Sind), by saying that they are of violent temperament, whether rich or poor, men or women, without any exception and give themselves up to pleasure and hateful customs.¹⁰ However, in my opinion it seems to be a prejudiced view. Perhaps being a friend of Yuan Chwang, the great Buddhist, Tao-si-yan was too sympathetic towards the Buddhists to include a word of praise for the non-Buddhists in his She-kia-Fang-Che.

1 Ibid, p. 59.

2 Ibid, p. 91.

3 Ibid, p. 11.

4 Ibid, pp. 52, 53, 54, 55.

5 Ibid, p. 121.

6 Ibid, p. 55.

7 Ibid, p. 120.

8 Ibid, p. 49.

9 Ibid, p. 53.

10 Ibid, pp. 119-120.

Author's notes: For the Indian forms of Chinese names of places, occurring in this paper, I have relied upon Watters: 'On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India'.

TWO CHILD-CHARACTERS OF BHAVABHŪTI

By

MAHENDRA KUMARA VARMA, Poona

One of the special characteristics of the Sanskrit drama *Uttara-rāma-carita* is the vivid characterization done by its author Bhavabhūti. As we skip over the words and lines of the drama, we come across places where the human mind is revealed to us like the open petals of a lotus-flower. In this drama, Bhavabhūti has described various types of characters ; such as the king and the queen, the sages and their disciples, the common-man and the deified natural elements : and while dealing with them, he has plunged deep into their hearts and his masterly hand has deftly brought above the surface the jewel-like emotions and feelings which move invisibly underneath.

Let us have a review of the character-sketch of young students done by him. Here we come to the hermitage of Vālmīki (Act IV) where we find two of the students of a congregation of them talking together. To-day they find the hermitage specially decorated to welcome a host of guests and it possesses an unusual grandeur. But the only attraction for pupils are the dainty-dishes which are being prepared to entertain the guests. To-day are being prepared the dishes which are cooked only on special occasions and which will be a variation from their regular ascetic meals and hence these become the first item of their talk. But there is also a probability that the quantity of these dishes being small, the guests may themselves consume these altogether and thus the hopes of the young boys to have their own shares may go in vain. That is why the first of these two, Dāṇḍāyana, is cautious enough to mention that he has seen the hermitage-deer drinking to his heart's content the watery portion of boiled rice even after it has been drunk by a doe which has recently delivered a fawn. (He talks about the chiding doe perhaps because a female is supposed to possess immense hunger after delivery.) Thus he wants to assure his friends that as the quantity of the watery portion of rice that has been cooked to prepare the dishes is so large as to enable the two deer to quench their thirst fully, the quantity of these dishes is bound to be more than sufficient and hence they should not lose their hopes of getting them.

Who are the guests and why have they come, will be thought by the pupils later on; but the only thing they like about the guests is that they have been the cause of a holiday. Just as we see now-a-days that the boys little care as to why they have got a holiday, but they are always over-joyous to hear a notice about it because for that day they are emancipated from the usual dry routine of studies; in the same manner we find the disciples of Vālmīki in a gay mood

because they have got a pleasant holiday and they will get an enjoyable feast. Their enthusiasm about the holidays becomes more clear to us when the second speaker here, Saudhātaki, after having inquired so many things about the guests, finally seems to lose all interest in them and he diverts his attention solely upon playing with his young friends so that he can celebrate the festival of holiday—in a befitting manner. (*āvām api baṭubhiḥ saha millitvā anadhyāya-mahotsavam khelantau mānayāvah.*)

Saudhātaki obviously belongs to the category of those persons who always desire to assert their self-importance and with this end in view, when in a company, talk in such manner as may evoke laughter among the listeners and thus they may become the sole object of everybody's attention. This is one of the reasons which explains the use by Saudhātaki of phrases like 'beards like torn-brushes' (*jirṇa-kūrca*), 'leader of the flock of the aged' (*sthavira-sārthasya dhurandharaḥ*), and 'Vasiṣṭha—the tiger or the wolf' (*vyāghraḥ vā vṛkaḥ vā*). Another reason for the use of these phrases is the universal habit of the youngsters to nickname their elders. And we ourselves know that the grey beards of the aged possess for the children an attraction which is full of fun.

Saudhātaki at the same time seems to possess a very keen sight. The fact does not escape his eye that a heifer is killed to be offered to Vasiṣṭha, whereas Janaka is offered only honey and curd. But we cannot praise only Saudhātaki for possessing such a keen sight because we know that the young boys are adept in marking out the unusual things at once. Not only they mark them out, but as the opportunity comes, they also try to know more and more about them and the person whom they choose to satisfy their curiosity is showered with a volley of questions.

One such individual is Dāṇḍāyana who has to face the series of questions put forward by Saudhātaki and one simply marvels at the voluminous information collected by him when he answers each and every question to the ultimate satisfaction of the questioner. Dāṇḍāyana apparently comes in the category of those students who are intelligent and gifted with the power of assimilation, who take special delight in toiling over their lessons and who, on account of their serenity, become pets of their teachers and enjoy respect of their companions.

Saudhātaki too, no doubt, possesses intelligence as is proved by the way he invents ridiculous names about the things around him, but he is one of those students who use their intelligence more for mischief than for anything else.

UDAYAPRABHA'S ŚABDABRAHMOLLĀSA*—A STUDY IN THE
POETICAL SYNTHESIS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE
ETERNAL VERBUM WITH THE NON-ABSOLU-
TISTIC JAINA MYSTICISM

By

N. M. KANSARA, Ahmedabad

The *Śabdabrahmollāsa* of Udayaprabhasūri (13th Century A.D.) is an incomplete mystic poem of 47 Sanskrit verses in Anuṣṭubh metre. It is remarkably philosophical and saturated with the fervour of supreme devotion to Arhat, the foremost of the Five Supremes held in the highest esteem by the Jainas irrespective of their sectarian diversifications. The philosophical doctrine of Jaina non-absolutism (Syād-vāda), the mystically significant formula known as the 'Pañca-parameṣṭhi-namaskāra', the linguistic philosophy of the Eternal Verbum or the Supreme Word (Śabda-brahma), the peculiar Jainistic Arhatism bordering on the monotheism, the Tantric Symbolism of the occult formula like 'Om̐', 'Arham̐'—all such ingredients, skillfully suspended in the malt-base of devotional fervour, have resulted in a beautifully blended literary recipe at once philosophical, mystical and uniquely poetical.

(i) *The Tantric Symbols* :—

(a) *OM̐* :—

The Upaniṣadic tradition elaborates the mystic symbolism of the Tantric mono-syllabic formulae 'Om̐' as consisting of four syllabic quarter 'a', 'u', 'm' and the unmanifest one symbolizing the states of waking, dream, deep sleep and the pure state beyond these three.¹

According to Udayaprabha, however, the mystic mono-syllable 'Om̐' is constituted by an integration of the five syllabic instants 'a', 'ā', 'u' and 'm', symbolizing the spiritual powers of the Five Supremes, viz., Arhat, Aśarīra or Siddha, Ācārya, Upādhyāya and Muni respectively, represented by the initial vowel or consonant of the name of the respective category. Udayaprabha follows, in this respect, the tradition of his predecessors like Haribhadra,

* A palm-leaf Ms. of this work is preserved in the Khetaravāsī Bhaṇḍāra at Pāṭan (N. Guj.). It was first noticed by C. D. Dalal in the "Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in the Bhaṇḍārs at Pāṭan," Vol. I (G. O. Series no. 76, 1937) and then briefly described by B. J. Sandesara in the "Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla and Its contribution to Sanskrit Literature" (Bombay, 1953), p. 72.—Ed.

1 *Māṇḍukyopaniṣad*, 1-12.

Jinacandra, Jinaprabha, Hemacandra, Śimhatilaka, Sakalakīrti, Siddhasena and others, who have established the Jainistic symbolization of the mystic syllable. In addition to them, Udayaprabha seems to take the category of 'Siddha' as the embodiment of the Jaina Yoga.¹

(b) *Arham* :—

All the sounds of the Sanskrit Varṇa-mālā are, according to Udayaprabha, capable of serving as living prāṇic forces (mantra-jīva). The mystic disyllabic symbol 'Arham' is, therefore, an embodiment of the concentrated essence of the entire power of human speech, as it symbolizes the whole of the Nāgarī Varṇa-mālā when its initial sound 'a' and the final one 'h' are enlivened in the form of a Mantra by adding to these sounds the Kalā, Nāda and Bindu, represented orthographically by the signs Repha, the Crescent and the Anusvāra in the crescent. This mystic symbol, too, is taken to signify the Five Supremes (pañca paramēṣṭhī).² This tradition has been recorded by the celebrated Hemacandra of the Kali-kāla-sarvajña fame.³

Further elaborating the concept symbolized by this disyllabic formulae, Udayaprabha indicates that the Arhathood consists in the power of the Tirthaṅkaras to lead the beings of the world to ultimate good (śiva), in their mission of establishing the causal chain for a rationalistic approach to the necessity of Final Liberation, in their attainment of Final Liberation (siddhi) and Supreme Powers (aiśvarya).⁴

(c) *The Siddha-Cakra* :—

The Jaina idea of the Siddhacakra is centred around the disyllabic mystic symbol 'Arham',⁵ which symbolizes the Five Supremes in general, but particularly the first category thereof. The central apex is then fortified by the remaining four categories of the Supremes on the one hand, and by the Four Cardinal Principles, viz., penance (tapas), conduct (cāritra), knowledge (jñāna) and realization (darśana) on the other hand. This dual combination of spiritual and ethical aspects of religio-philosophical life constitutes an extremely powerful focal point for psychic concentration and spiritual introversion. As a psycho-diagrammatic representation (yantra) it is a mystic lotus with eight petals around a central pericarp; the latter is the seat of Arhat, while the former

1 *Śabdabrahmollāsa* (Śbr.), 3.

2 *ibid.*, 5.

3 Cf. the *Tattva-prakāśikā* on the *Maṅgala-sūtra* of the *Siddhahaima-śabdānuśāsana Arham ityetaḍ akṣaram / Paramēśvarasya paramēṣṭhino vācakam / Siddha-cakrasya ādi-bijam / Sakalāgamopaniṣadbhūtam /*.

4 Cf. Śbr., 6.

5 Cf. Śbr., 4.

are the seats of the remaining four Supremes flanked by the Four Cardinal Principles of Jainism.¹

(ii) *The Jainistic Conception of the Supreme Word :—*

To Udayaprabha, the mystic mono-syllable 'Om' is the linguistic manifestation of the entire and ultimate metaphysical Truth. In the form of this manifestation as the Śabda-brahman, the Supreme Word, it is the seed of all further appearances (vivarta) in the form of the various manifestations of human speech.² The Supreme Self, in its turn, is at the root of its first transformation in the form of the Supreme Word.³

There is a subtle difference between the Jainistic conception of Śabda-brahman as suggested by Udayaprabha and that propounded by Bhartṛhari, the grammarian-cum-philosopher.

The main ideas about Bhartṛhari's conception of Śabda-brahman as set forth in the *Vākya-paṭīya* are succinctly summarised by Prof. K. A. Subrahmanya Iyer as follows⁴ :

(a) The Ultimate Reality, Brahman, which is without beginning or end is of the nature of word (śabda-tattva) and from it are manifested all the objects and the whole Cosmos.⁵

(b) This Ultimate Reality is One, but it manifests itself as many because of its many powers. It does so without losing its Oneness. It is not different from its powers but appears to be different.⁶

(c) Of its many powers, Time is the most important. It is One, but divisions are superimposed on it. On it depends all the different kinds of changes (ṣaḍ bhāva-vikārāḥ) which bring about multiplicity in Being.⁷

(d) The Ultimate Reality, which is One, contains the seed of all multiplicity. It manifests itself as the experiencer, the experienced and the experience itself.⁸

According to Bhartṛhari, the Speech-principle has three stages in the course of manifestation, viz., paśyantī, madhyamā and vaikharī,⁹ of which the first one, paśyantī is the Supreme Reality (śabda-brahman) and has been identified

1 Cf. *Namaskāra-svādhyāya* (Skt. Section), for an illustration of the Siddhacakra, on the plate facing p. 220.

2 Cf. *Śbr.*, I.

3 Cf. *ibid.*, 3.

4 Subrahmanya Iyer. K. A., *Bhartṛhari*, Poona (1969), pp. 98-99.

5 Cf. *Vāk.*, I, i.

6 Cf. *ibid.*, I, 2.

7 Cf. *ibid.*, I, 3.

8 Cf. *ibid.*, I, 4.

9 Cf. *ibid.*, I, 144.

with Pratibhā, the flash of insight or the principal of consciousness.¹ The Supreme Reality is called Śabda-brahman, i.e., the Eternal Verbum or the Supreme Word, because it is not determined or limited but ubiquitous; it comprehends and gathers up all the diverse phenomena within its orbit and it is their prius,—a truth which can be deduced from the fact that it runs, through, as the underlying principle, all that occurs; the continuity of the Verbum in the phenomenal world proves that the latter is its transformation or appearance—that the world with its multifarious varieties derives its genesis from the former.²

In the Jainistic conception, as suggested by Udayaprabha, the Supreme Self (parātman) is expressive of the entire spiritual Truth. It is the sole seed of the Supreme Word (śabda-brahman). The Supreme Word is but an appearance (vivarta) of the Supreme Self. The phonemic manifestation (akṣara-mūrti) is nothing but the manifestation of the unmanifest Supreme Self. Thus, while with Bhartṛhari the essential nature of the beginningless, endless and imperishable Brahman is the Word, with Udayaprabha the Supreme Self is the seed of the Supreme Word, the latter being but a manifest form of the former. And Udayaprabha seems to claim that the conception of Bhartṛhari is rather distorted (jihma), implying thereby that he himself is the exponent of the proper conception of the Supreme Self as also of the Supreme Word,³ the two being duly differentiated as the Reality and the Appearance respectively.

(iii) *The Nature of the 'Arhat' :—*

(a) *The Monistic Aspect :*

The Upaniṣadic thinkers put forth the conception of Brahman as the Ultimate Principle from which proceeds the creation, the sustenance and the dissolution of the universe.⁴ It is not only 'sat' (real), but also 'cit' (pure consciousness) and 'ānanda' (bliss). It is Existence-cum-Consciousness-cum-Beatitude, unqualified, unattached, one, indivisible. From the monistic point of view, Brahman is soundless, intangible, formless, inexhaustible, tasteless, eternal and in-odorous,⁵ real, consciousness and one alone without a second one.

The Monistic aspect of 'Arhat' is reminiscent of the Upaniṣadic conception of the Brahman. The term 'Arhat' is utilized by the Jainas to denote the general category called 'Tirthaṅkara'. Udayaprabha exalts this generality to the status of the Supreme Self, in that there is no state of the Self higher than

1 Cf. Kunjunni Raja K., *Indian Theories of Meaning*, (Madras, 1963), p. 147.

2 Sastri Gaurinath, *The Philosophy of Word and Meaning*, (Calcutta, 1959), p. 1, ft. nt., 2.

3 Cf. *Śbr.*, 2.

4 Cf. *Taitt. Up.*, 3, 1: *Yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante, etc.*

5 Cf. *Kath. Up.* III, 15.

that of the Finally-Emancipated One. He is not the first Jaina thinker to have done so. He seems to have had a long tradition beginning right from the authors of the Āgamas, but more prominently elaborated by later Jaina mystics like Kundakunda, Haribhadra, Amṛtacandra, Guṇabhadra, Amitagati, Yogīndu and others. In Jainism, Arhat, i.e. Tirthaṅkara, is also called Paramātmān as he is the eternal divinity that dwells in liberation at the top of three worlds never to come back in the cycle of the transmigratory existence.¹ Thus, in the opinion of Udayaprabha, Lord Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tirthaṅkara, in its essence is but the all-pervading, Supreme Light which is incomprehensible, devoid of the beginning and the end, changeless, unpoluted, and of the nature of the experience in the form of "I am Brahman".² It is the Supreme Absolute beyond the Supreme Word.³

(b) *The Monotheistic Aspect :*

In the Upaniṣadic tradition the Ultimate Reality is stressed in the passages where the Supreme Self is described as the one self, immanent in all beings, all-pervading, innermost of all,⁴ almighty, omniscient, inner-controller, source, the substratum of the origin and the destruction of all beings.⁵

At first sight it would seem that Udayaprabha borrows the conception from the Upaniṣads when he qualifies Arhat as being the sole master of the entire wealth of the mystic powers, dispassionateness, qualities and knowledge,⁶ as the Supreme Master,⁷ and the sanctifier of the three worlds.⁸ But several Jaina predecessors of Udayaprabha have utilized these very attributes to convey their own conception of the Supreme Self. As has been pointed out by Professor A. N. Upadhye,⁹ the Upaniṣadic Brahman is a cosmic principle, which idea is not associated with the Jaina conception of Paramātmān; Brahman is one and one only according to the Upaniṣads; according to Jainism, however Paramātmān is a super-spirit representing the ultimate point of spiritual evolution of Ātman by gradual destruction of Karman through penances, etc.; and each Ātman becomes a Paramātmān and retains his individuality. According to Jainism, Paramātmān has nothing to do with the world beyond that he knows and sees it, because it is his nature to see and to know; while Brhaman, according to the

1 Yogīndu, *Paramātmā-prakāśa*. I, 4, 25, 33.

2 Cf. *Śbr.*, 11.

3 Cf. *ibid.*, 9.

4 Cf. *Śvet. Up.* VI, 11.

5 Cf. *Māṇḍ. Up.* 6.

6 Cf. *Śbr.*, 8.

7 Cf. *ibid.*, 9.

8 Cf. *ibid.*, 7.

9 Cf. Yogīndu, his *Paramātmā-prakāśa* and Other Works (A Critical Essay), Bombay, 1937, p. 34.

Upaniṣads is the very source and support of everything else. Though many attributes are common between Upaniṣadic Brahman and Jaina Paramātman, their implications often differ. In spite of an almost Upaniṣadic tone of Udayaprabha, we cannot forget that the monistic-cum-pantheistic grandeur of Upaniṣadic Brahman is missing in the Jainistic conception of Paramātman, a stage in the evolution of the Ātman where the race of the round-of-rebirths comes to a full stop.

To Udayaprabha, Arhat is the supreme repository of all the mystic attainments, utmost passionlessness, entire religious conduct, and unhindered omniscience; he is popularly called the Supreme Master; he is the Master to be meditated upon.¹ The so-called Para Brahman, Īśvara, Śakti, Lokēśa, Keśava, Śiva, Buddha, Śūnya, Alakṣa are but the various manifestations of Arhat.²

The quality of being all-pervasive applies to Arhat in so far as He is capable of comprehending, by means of His kevala-jñāna, all things in the entire universe in their fourfold aspects, viz., nomenclature (nāma), superimposition (sthāpanā), previous or subsequent condition (dravya) and direct reference (bhāva).³

The cosmogonic aspect of the Upaniṣadic Supreme Self is transformed in Jainism. Here Arhat is the final authority who has propounded the nature of things that are subject to creation, things that are transitory, and things that are enduring. It is in this sense that Arhat is called the cause of the origin, the sustenance and the dissolution.

Obliquely bringing out the difference between the Vedāntic conception of God and the Jainistic conception of Arhat, Udayaprabha suggests that while Arhat's infinite powers of perception, omniscience and bliss are unsuperimposed and hence not liable to be sublated, thereby implying that those in the case of the Vedāntic (particularly the Kevalādvaitistic) God are but superimposed due to nescience and are for that reason liable to be sublated at the level of the absolute reality.⁴

The monotheistic colour gets thicker when Udayaprabha pictures Arhat as residing in a temple; the universe being the temple with the lower regions (prthvī) as a firm foundation, the human regions (tiryaḥ) as a door, the uppermost celestial region (anuttarā-bhū) as the adytum, and with the borders of the Loka (lokāgra), i.e. the region beyond them known as Āloka, as its top.⁵ The monotheistic hue is further enhanced by a subserving pantheistic tinge when

1 Cf. Śbr., 8.

2 *ibid.*, 17.

3 Cf. Śbr., 7; especially in the light of Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthadhigama-sūtra*, I, 4-6.

4 Cf. Śbr., 15.

5 Cf. Śbr., 20.

Udayaprabha declares that the five gross elements, viz., Earth, Water, Fire, Air and Ether, as also the Moon, the Man and the Sun, are the eight principal manifestations of Arhat, manifestations that are pervasive : this would easily remind us of the eight manifested forms of Īśa referred to by Kālidāsa in his Nāndī verse of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*. Arhat is further called Maheśa, Mahādeva and Nirvikalpa.¹

(iv) *The Relative Non-Dualism or Syād-Advaita :—*

The Upaniṣadic conception of the Non-dualism as interpreted by Śaṅkara is absolute and admits of no compromise so far as the absolute level of ultimate reality is concerned.² The Upaniṣadic statements like 'Ekam evādvitīyaṁ brāhma', 'Puruṣa evedaṁ sarvaṁ', and the like testify to the pre-existence of Brahman with reference to the emergence of the universe. Later Vedāntists like Vallabha who posit Pure Non-dualism devoid of the principle of Nescience take exception to the Śaṅkarite process of subordinating the validity of the 'Saguṇa' texts to that of the 'Nirguṇa' ones which are given primacy with regard to the exposition of the real nature of the Ultimate Reality. These later Pure Non-dualists maintain that both the sets of scriptures being equally valid. One Non-dual Reality, being almighty, can be both Personal and Impersonal at the same time.³ The Jains, who repudiate the validity of the Vedic scriptures in the matter, have a recourse to their own doctrine of Non-absolutism (syād-vāda) which involves no problem of logical inconsistency between the qualified and the non-qualified aspects of the same ultimate reality.

But Udayaprabha, being perhaps enamoured of the Vedāntic Absolutism, strives to posit a Jainistic version of it on the basis of the Non-absolutism, and in the process evolves the Relative Non-dualism (syād-advaita).⁴ As Arhat is the ultimate reality both personal and impersonal at the same time, He is both Maheśvara as well as Param Brahma,⁵ Incomprehensible as well as Greatest Light.⁶ All words are capable of admitting all sorts of senses in relative situations ; all words ultimately refer to Sarvārtha, i.e. the Enlightened One. It is in this sense, says Udayaprabha, that the Jainistic scriptures (śruti) admit of the genuine type of absolutism ; the popular non-dualism based on the Vedic scriptures (śruti) is but an absolutism only in name.⁷

Udayaprabha goes still further and declares that the concept of non-dualism is rather basic in Jainism. The doctrine that all the souls would attain to the

1 *ibid.*, 30.

2 Cf. Śaṅkarācārya's *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*, 247-251.

3 Cf. Viṭṭhaleśa's *Vidvanmaṇḍanam*, pp. 11 ff.

4 Cf. *Śbr.*, 37.

5 *ibid.*, 9 and 10.

6 *ibid.*, 11.

7 *ibid.*, 38.

same status (sāmya) prior to the transmigratory state and subsequent to the state of final liberation testifies to Jain non-dualism.¹ The identity of the knower and the knowledge as maintained by the scriptures of the ignorant, i.e. the Vedists, can be valid, according to Udayaprabha, only from the Jainistic view-point of the Omniscience and Arhathood.² Further, says Udayaprabha, the attainment of omniscience cannot be achieved but by meditating on all the objects of the world as identified with Arhat, and on Arhat as being omniform. According to Jainism, right faith, right knowledge and right conduct are held to be instrumental in attaining to Mokṣa. But, as has been pointed out by Yogīndu who has elaborated this idea very clearly, right faith, right knowledge and right conduct really consist in respectively seeing, knowing and pursuing oneself by oneself; in fact Ātman himself is all the three.³ From the practical point of view right faith consists in steady belief in the true nature of Ātman resulting from the knowledge of various substances exactly as they are in the universe; the right knowledge is that condition or state of the self which understands the substances exactly as they are; and the right conduct is the cultivation of that genuine and pure state of the self after fully realizing and discriminating the self and the other-than-the-self, and after giving up attachment for the latter.⁴

(v) *Devotion* :—

The whole of the *Sabdabrahmollāsa* is replete with the utmost fervour of devotion to Arhat; devotion in its various facets like meditation, adoration, salutation, submission, prayer, identification. Udayaprabha meditates on Arhat, the Supreme Self, symbolized by the mystic syllables like 'Om', 'Arham', etc.; he adores Arhat, the Impersonal Principle beyond the ordinary means of valid knowledge, and as being of the nature of Supreme Light beyond the Supreme Word; he salutes Arhat, the Highest Lord and the Supreme Deity; he submits himself to Arhat taking Him to be his parents, master, preceptor, all in one; he prays to Arhat entreating Him to admit him into the proper path to liberation; and he aspires to identify himself with Arhat as being the prototype of his own original state of Arhathood. The fine silver chord of fervent devotion enlivens the body of thoughts throughout, be they mystic, moralistic, theistic, absolutistic or linguistic.

(vi) *The Mystic Language and Style in the ŚBR.* :

In mysticism the love of truth, which is the beginning of all philosophy, leaves the merely intellectual sphere, and takes on the assured aspect of a per-

1 *ibid.*, 39.

2 *ibid.*, 40.

3 Cf. Yogīndu's *Par.* Part II, 12-14.

4 Upadhye, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

sonal passion; when the philosopher guesses and argues, the mystic lives and looks; and consequently, he speaks the disconcerting language of first-hand experience, not the neat dialectic of the schools.¹ Monism and theism, rather than theistic monism, have been detected as the fundamental pillars of mystics, in that in the transcendental experience the spirit realizes its unity or identity with something essentially divine.² In Jainism spiritual experience does not stand for a divided self achieving an absolute unification, but the bound individual expresses and exhibits its potential divinity.³ Thus, Udayaprabha stresses his essential potential equality with Arhathood. The symbolization of the mystic syllables as representing the Five Supremes of Jainism, the supremacy of omniscience and mystic powers as the very essence of Arhathood, the transcendental status of Arhat vis-a-vis the Supreme Word, the all-pervading manifestations of Arhat, the ultimate finality of a salutation to Arhat, the omnipresence and omnipotence of Arhat in peculiar Jainistic sense, and utmost devotion to Arhat as the only True and Supreme Master—all these aspects touched by Udayaprabha, ultimately aim at one goal of attainment of the supreme state of self-realization, and Arhat serves as the sole shining beacon light to the attainment of that *sum-mum bonum*.

The language of Udayaprabha abounds in the terminology which would look unexpectedly strange in a Jainistic work. The very idea of the Absolute (Brahman) and the Supreme word (Śabda-brahman) sounds incongruent with the Jaina thought at first sight. The mystic syllable 'Om' would seem quite out of place in the Jaina scheme of a moralistic religion. The Vedāntic terms like Śruti, Advaita, Para-brahma, Paramārtha, Cinmaya, Param jyoti, Vivarta, Āropita, Prapañca, etc., used in their etymological sense suitably adopted to the Jaina thought, along with the Brāhmaṇo-Purāṇic mythological nomenclatures like Īśvara, Śakti, Lokeśa, Keśava, Śiva, Maheśvara, Mahādeva, etc., by their normally unwarranted occurrence in the poem, generate a strange aesthetic rapture. The usages, like Apoha, Anyāpoha, Śunya, Sugata, Sarvārtha, Buddha etc., well-known among the Buddhists, fill us with the admiration for the poetic scholarship of the author. The peculiar use of words like 'Titau', exclusively patent to the Vedic language is reminiscent of the probable Brahmanic background of the author, perhaps prior to his initiation into Jaina monastic order; it incidentally affords a glimpse into his familiarity with the scriptures of the faiths to which he does not contribute, but is willing to use them to his own advantage in accordance with the tenets of the Jaina philosophy as well as his overpowering urge for an object of deeply passionate devotion.

1 Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism*, (London, 1945), p. 24.

2 Upadhye, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

3 *ibid.*, p. 40.

The style of Udayaprabha in the *Śbr.* blends in its texture the threads of thoughts patent to various philosophical systems and weaves various patterns peculiar to the Upaniṣads, the Vedāntic prayers, the Tāntric Stotras, and simple hymns of devotional supplication to the Supreme Lord. It has created a happy illusion regarding the true nature of Udayaprabha's poem, which is taken to be the introductory prelude to a work,¹ probably on Mantra-Śāstra.² Though undoubtedly incomplete, the work, on the basis of its content, seems to be rather a philosophical hymn in the praise of the Five Supreme, particularly Arhat, and its symbolism in the form of the mystic syllables like Om and Arham. As piece of devotional poetry it combines in its structure the devotional depth of Mānatuṅga's *Bhaktāmara-stotra*, the philosophical tinge of Bhartṛhari's *Vākya-padīya*, religious zeal of Haribhadra's *Brahmasiddhānta-samuccaya*, and the Tāntric symbolism of worthy Jaina predecessors like Samantabhadra, Jinaprabha and Hemacandra. On these counts the work fully deserves to find an honoured place among the Jainistic philosophico-religious hymns and secures for Udayaprabha a worthy place among the celebrated mystic poets in the history of Jaina Sanskrit Literature.

1 Sandesara B. J., *Literary Circle of Mahāmāyā Vastupāla*, (Baroda, 1953), p. 72.

2 Shah Ambalal P., *Gujarāta-no Rājakiya Ane Sāmskṛtika Itihāsa* (in Gujarati), Vol. III, p. 312.

DNA AND KUNḌALINĪ

By

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Tantra is generally looked upon as an occult branch of Indian philosophy,¹ but there are scholars who have regarded tāntrika philosophy as having a more profound significance.²

The aim of a tāntrika is to awaken the *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti* lying dormant in him.

What is *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti*? The available ancient descriptions are esoteric, but various interpretations are available. Rele quotes Swāmī Vivekānanda: "The Centre where all residual sensations are, as it were, stored up is called *Mulādhāra-Chakra*, and the coiled up energy of actions is *Kundalinī*, the coiled up".³

Sir John Woodroffe in his Book *The Serpent Power* (under the pen name of Arthur Avalon) states that "*Kundalinī* is the static *Shakti*..... It is the individual bodily representative of the great cosmic power (*Shakti*) which creates and sustains the universe".⁴

Attempts have been made to give physical identity to this metaphysical concept of *Kuṇḍalinī*; some have suggested that *Kuṇḍalinī* is the inferior Vena-cava, while others conjecture it to be the large bowels.⁵ Dr. Rele believes that *Kuṇḍalinī* interpreted as the serpent power is the Vagus Nerve which supplies and controls all the important vital organs through the different plexuses of the sympathetic portion of the autonomic system.⁶ It does not seem to be logical to identify *Kuṇḍalinī* with the inferior Venacava or the large bowel, but Rele's view merits attention. Woodroffe, however, has commented on Rele's viewpoint in these words: "His (Rele's) view is an original one, namely that *Kundalinī* is the right Vagus Nerve. As to this I would say that *Kundalinī* herself cannot be that and for this reason. She is the Grand Potential. As such she cannot, in my view, be identified with any of the products which she becomes. *Kundalinī*, in my opinion, is a gross form of *Shakti*. I say a gross form because the shaktis of the Lord are many such as His own Ananda *Shakti* and others.. She is then not as such, in my view, a nerve or any other physical substance or mental faculty but the Ground Substance of both which, on being roused, ascends and is merged in the higher Tattvas ending in Shiva-*Shakti*'s Tattvas when she is said to be merged in Paramaśhiva".⁷ "*Kuṇḍalinī* is in fact the cosmic energy in bodies and as such the cause of all and though manifesting as, is not confined to, any of her products."⁸

In short, "the same consciousness which manifests as and in the universe embodies itself also in individual form. The same Śakti is there in man with all its powers; his body is a living storehouse of Power. Yoga aims to raise all the forms of this power to their highest degree and expression. And the main base, the root of all his powers is the *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti*." 9

I agree with Sir John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon) that *Kuṇḍalinī* cannot be identified with any of the products which she becomes. To quote Woodroffe further, "*Kuṇḍalinī* is an aspect of the external Brahman (*Brahmarūpā Sanātani*) and is both attributeless and with attribute (*Nirguṇa* and *Saguṇa*)..... As *Saguṇā* She it is by whose power all creatures are displayed (*Sarva-bhūta-prakāśinī*)". 10 He calls *Kuṇḍalinī* the Grand Potential. What could be this Grand Potential? Could DNA, "the master molecule of life", fulfil the requirements of being this Grand Potential? To appreciate and answer this question, it is necessary to understand the function of DNA in the living world. What we call life is an extremely complex concept when we try to define it. The definitions vary according to the points of view which are several." 11, 12, 13. Even though biologists today feel unqualified to discuss life 14, the power of self-duplication (reproduction) has been universally accepted as one of the most important criteria of life.

Evolution is a unifying concept in biology. Evolution implies continuity of life and descent with modification. 15 This is the function of DNA interacting with the environment. DNA is one of the nucleic acids (the other one being RNA) universally found in organisms from viruses and bacteria to man. According to the present (almost universally accepted) view DNA controls the synthesis of proteins and is the carrier of genetic information in biotic systems. 16 Proteins form the structural basis of protoplasm and all enzymes (which control most of the biological processes) are also proteins. Proteins may be described as polypeptides made of amino acids as units.

DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) consists of two very long, thin polymeric chains twisted about each other in the form of a regular double helix. Each chain is a polynucleotide. There are four main nucleotides. The DNA control of protein synthesis is exerted through RNA (ribonucleic acid).

The Cell Theory is another unifying concept in biology. According to this theory cell is the structural and functional unit of organisms which may be unicellular or multicellular. The human body, for instance, consists of some 100,000,000,000,000 cells. 17 One can have some idea of the cell size from the fact that a pin head with a volume of one cubic millimetre can accommodate 1,000,000 (one million) cells of average size ($10\mu \times 10\mu \times 10\mu$; μ being

$\frac{1}{1000}$ of a millimetre which itself is $\frac{1}{1000}$ of a metre).

Confining our observations to the higher (in evolution) forms of life, a cell contains a more or less centrally located nucleus surrounded by cytoplasm. The DNA content of the cell is (with some exceptions) confined to the cell nucleus. Protein synthesis takes place in the cytoplasm but under the control of the nucleus. The nuclear control of protein synthesis is exerted through DNA which is a sort of coded programme for protein synthesis. The DNA is comparable to a master copy (plan) of the programmed instructions. RNA is comparable to transcribed copies of this programme for the use of agencies in cytoplasm responsible for protein synthesis. RNA (ribonucleic acid) is synthesized in the nucleus and reaches ribosomes (in the cytoplasm) the actual sites of protein synthesis. *Gene* is a portion of the DNA molecule coding for a single polypeptide (i.e. a chain of amino acids). This is merely a bare outline of the process of protein synthesis which is extremely complex. There are many excellent books for readers interested in details.^{18, 19, 20, 21}

Metabolism or the sum total of life processes is controlled by enzymes which are proteins and, as we have discussed earlier, the protein synthesis is under the control of DNA. In (sexual) reproduction the parents contribute a tiny cell (ovum or sperm) each to the offspring. The parental representatives are formed through a very complicated but accurate process of cell division (meiosis) which ensures that each parental sex cell contains a faithful copy of the parental DNA. The fertilized egg thus contains the DNAs of both the parents. The new generation has its beginning in this single (fertilized) cell. This cell develops into a full grown new individual as a result of development which is programmed by its DNA interacting with the environment. Heritable changes are due to changes in the DNA. Agents like X-rays, cosmic rays and certain chemicals can induce changes in the structure of DNA. These changes (mutations) are responsible for heritable variation which is the raw material for the process of natural selection to act on. In course of time (which may involve millions or billions of years) new species arise (evolution).^{22,23,24}

The bioscientist equipped with the knowledge of the DNA structure, its role in protein synthesis and the techniques of manipulating the structure and function of DNA can now expect to acquire the capability to manipulate genes to cure diseases or create superior intelligence. Bio-medicine and genetic engineering are fast developing branches of biology which are concerned with these manipulations.^{25, 26}

Yoga aims at raising all the forms of *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti* to their highest degree and expression. To quote Woodroffe, "... the body is a vast magazine of power (Śakti). The object of the Tāntrik rituals is to raise these various forms of power to their full expression the centre and root of all his powers as Jīva is *Kuṇḍalinī-Śakti*."²⁷ Or, as Pandit puts it, "The object of *Kuṇḍalinī* Yoga

is to realise the existence of and to stimulate the energy dispersed in various centres in the human body and to concentrate and to bring to a climax the potentialities of these centres, which, taken together, are represented in the ideal form of a coiled serpent whose uncoiling results in the manifestation of the Power Reservoir." ²⁸ Is this not also the aim of modern biologist who is trying to control life processes and development (and thus evolution) through genetic engineering ?

In the concept of DNA as the master molecule behind all the manifestations of life we have something comparable to the concept of *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti* of Yoga.

Though there is a striking similarity between the double helical structure of DNA and the serpentine coiled structure of *Kuṇḍalinī* as described in tāntrika texts, it is not the sole or the main basis of the present suggestion to identify DNA with the tāntrika concept of *Kuṇḍalinī*. The emphasis is placed on their being the Grand Potential governing the living universe.

The present hypothesis of identifying the *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti* of Yoga with the DNA (a material substance amenable to experimental verification and manipulation to meet the rigorous requirements of the modern scientific approach) should help bridge the gap between the so-called materialistic and spiritual approaches to understand and control what we call life.

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COCKS IN ANCIENT INDIAN LIFE

By

APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY, Varanasi

Introduction:

It is interesting to note that cocks played rather a significant part in the life of ancient Indians. The literary sources provide data which show that association of cocks with the life of the people was close and somewhat important.

Royal Banner Made of Cock's Feather :

Varāhamihira, the great scientist of ancient India, gives us details about royal banner. Here we find the use of cock's feathers in the making of the royal banner. Varāhamihira says that the kings' umbrella shall be made of the feathers of the swan, the cock, the peacock and the crane, covered with a new white silk and hung with lines of pearls all round ; the handle shall be set with crystals ; the shaft shall be made of gold, six cubits long, and shall contain seven or nine joints.¹

It is note-worthy that in the above list of birds whose feathers were to be used in making the royal umbrella, the cock stands second while pea-cock the most beautiful bird stands third. Cock comes next to swan in the list.

Varāhamihira gives further details of the umbrella, which was to be studded with jewels.² The umbrella was expected to bring auspiciousness (*kalyāna*)³ and victory to the king. It seems the umbrellas for the crown prince, queen, commander-in-chief and the magistrate (*daṇḍanāyaka*) also were to be made of the same material. Because we are simply told about the size of those umbrellas

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- 1 निचितं तु हंसपक्षैः कृक्वाकुमयूरसारसानां वा ।
दौकूल्येन नवेन तु समन्ततश्छादितं शुक्लम् ॥ १ ॥
मुक्ताफलैरुपचितं प्रलम्बमालाविलं स्फटिकमूलम् ।
षड्वस्तशुद्धहैमं नवपर्वणैकदण्डं तु ॥ २ ॥
Brhatsamhitā, Ch. 73, छत्रलक्षणाध्यायः ।

- 2 दण्डार्धविस्तृतं तत् समावृतं रत्नभूषितमुदग्रम् ।
Br. Samh., Ch. 73, 3.

- 3 ... कल्याणपरं विजयदं च ... ॥
Br. Samh., Ch. 73, 3.

while in the case of the umbrellas of other princes and king's favourites, we are told, that those should be made exclusively of peacock's feathers.¹

So special importance of cock's feathers is noteworthy. It was to be used only for the umbrellas of the king, the queen, the crown-prince and the daṇḍanāyaka, while peacock's feather was exclusively meant for others, who were less important.

Domesticated Cocks :

That kings kept pet cocks is suggested in Varāhamihira's predictions on physical signs of cocks indicating good or bad luck for the king,² which we shall presently discuss.

In Jātaka literature we find fuller details regarding domesticated pet cocks which were kept in cages and were not permitted to go out and move freely.³ Further in a Jātaka tale we find that there was a famous Brāhmaṇa teacher, who had five hundred students from different parts of the country. Those students kept a pet cock who used to awaken the students for their study. When it died, the students searched for another cock and brought one and kept it in a cage. Since the second cock was from a cemetery it did not know which was the proper time to cry and awaken the students for study. The way of the narration shows that it was a common practice to keep pet cocks just as people kept parrots and peacocks. It is noteworthy that students of an illustrious Brāhmaṇa teacher kept a cock. It seems there was no social prohibition for keeping cocks.

Pet Cocks in a Temple :

In Jātaka No. 284, we find a large number of pet cocks attached to a temple. They are, however, not described as caged. They were free and they used to sleep on trees.⁴ The fact that people used to keep cocks as pets, is attested by Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Kauṭilya prescribes a fine of fifty-five paṇas or cutting off of the tip of the nose for the theft of cocks which are of less than twenty-five paṇas in value.⁵

1 युवराजनृपतिपत्न्योः सेनापतिदण्डनायकानां च ।
दण्डोऽर्धपञ्चहस्तः समपञ्चकृतोऽर्धविस्तारः ॥ ४ ॥
अन्येषामुष्णधनं प्रसादपट्टैर्विभूषितशिरस्कम् ।
व्यालम्बितनमालं छत्रं कार्यं तु मायूरम् ॥ ५ ॥
Br. Sam., Ch. 73, 4-5.

2 *Br. Sam.*, Ch. 63.

3 *Jātaka* No. 318 (कण्वेर जातक).

4 *Jātaka* No. 284 (सिरि जातक).

5 पञ्चविंशतिपाणवरेषु कुक्कुटनकुलमाज्जरि
Arth., Bk. IV, Ch. X, 2.

Lucky and Unlucky Signs of Cocks:

Varāhamihira tells us about the physical signs of cocks regarding the effect of those signs on the life and fate of the royal master of the cocks. Thus, Varāhamihira says that the cock whose wings and fingers are straight, whose mouth, nail and comb are red, whose body is white, and which crows melodiously early in the morning, will bring on prosperity to the king, his kingdom and his horses.¹ The cock whose neck is of the shape of the barley, whose body is of the colour of the fruit 'badara,' the one whose head is large and body is of different colours, is excellent in fight. The cock of the colour of honey or the bee, will bring on success; one that is of thin body and of a weak throat and lame legs is not a good one.² The hen which crows softly and melodiously, whose body is fine and glossy and whose face and eyes are beautiful, will bring to a king wealth, fame, success, health and strength.³

Sacrifice of Cocks to Gods:

The practice of offering cocks in sacrifices is noticed in *Dīgha Nikāya*. In the Kuṭadanta Sūtra of *Dīgha-Nikāya*, the animals brought for a great sacrifice are cows, sheep, cocks and pigs.⁴ In a *Jātaka* tale the same custom of offering cocks in a sacrifice, is noticed.⁵

Cocks for Recreation :

In the Śrāmaṇya phala Sūtra in the *Dīgha-Nikāya* we find a long list of popular amusements and pastimes one of which was witnessing cock-fights. It is classed with theatrical shows, dance, music, bull-fight, elephant-fight, wrestling, etc. which were popular recreations, but attending which was not laudable for a true Brāhmaṇa.⁶ So the cocks had a part to play in the life of recreations also for the people.

1 कुकुटस्तृजुतनूरुहाङ्गुलिस्ताम्रवक्त्रनखचूलिकः सितः ।

रौति सुस्वरमुपात्यये च यो वृद्धिदः स नृपराष्ट्रवाजिनाम् ॥

Br. Sam., Ch. 63, 1.

2 यवप्रीतो यो वा बदरसदृशो वापि विहगो ।

वृहन्मूर्धा वर्णैर्भवति बहुभिर्यश्च सचिरः ।

स शस्तः सङ्ग्रामे मधुमधुपवर्णश्च जयकृत्... ॥

Br. Sam., Ch. 63, 2.

3 कुक्कुटी च मृदुचारुभाषिणी स्निग्धमूर्तिरुचिराननेक्षणा ।

सा ददाति सुचिरं महीक्षितां धीयशोविजयवीर्यसम्पदः

Br. Sam., 63, 3.

4 *Dīgha-Nikāya*, Kuṭadanta Sutta.

5 *Jātaka* No. 50 (कुम्भेय जातक).

6 *Dīgha-Nikāya*, Śrāmaṇya phala Sutta.

Practice of Eating Cock's Flesh :

It is interesting to note that not only royal banner used to be made of cock's feathers but cock's flesh was a delicacy for royal dinner. Thus in the *Rāmāyaṇa* we find that when Bharata was going in search of Rāma, a dinner was arranged for him and his party in the hermitage of sage Bharadvāja in the vicinity of Prayāga. The description of the dinner party throws light on the nature and items of a royal feast.¹ Because we are told, that the great sage wishing to entertain Bharata in right manner, managed by his ascetic powers, to procure all requisite things to entertain a prince. And in the description of the items of food and drink, we find flesh of cocks² specially mentioned along with flesh of peacocks, which was another favourite dish of the royalties in ancient India.³ Again in the description of Rāvaṇa's banquet hall, flesh of cocks are mentioned along with flesh of deer, peacock etc.⁴

The practice of eating cocks is noticed in a *Jātaka* tale.⁵ This tale also throws indirect light on the popularity of cock's flesh as a food among people. Thus we find that two cocks are quarrelling. The one is boasting that one who will eat its flesh properly roasted, will make a profit of one thousand kārṣāpaṇas immediately, the very next morning. The other one proudly declares that by eating its flesh one would become a king. One foolish person heard about it and he killed that very cock and asked his wife to prepare rice and curry of that cock's flesh and it was done accordingly. Accidentally that chicken curry and rice fell to the lot of an elephant-trainer (*hasti-ācārya*) and it was a matter of great joy for him. This kind of narration shows the common practice of eating chicken among people.

Medical Recommendation of Chicken :

It is noteworthy that the master-physician Caraka forwarded the modern medical theory that chicken is the best of all strength-giving food, just as milk is the best for giving vitality and rice is the best for sustenance.⁶ Both Caraka and Suśruta have discussed the value of chicken as food from the point of view of health. Thus Caraka says that it produces heat in the body, it is extremely

1 *Rāmā, Ayodhyā*, Ch. 91.

2 ...मार्गमायूर कौकुटैः ॥

Rāmā, Ayodhyā, Ch. 91, 70.

3 See my article on "Peacock's Flesh, the Favourite Dish of Emperor Aśoka". Published in *Nagarjun*, Vol. XI, No. 2, October, 1967.

4 ददर्श कपिशार्दूलो मयूरान् कुक्कुटोस्तथा ॥

Rāmā, Sundara, Ch. IX, 15.

5 *Jātaka* No. 284 (सिरि जातक).

6 ...कुक्कुटो बलानां.....

Caraka, Sū, Ch. XXV, 39.

strength-giving, it increases the power of the voice, and it helps the development of the body.¹ Suśruta notices the same qualities of cock's flesh. Further Suśruta says that the flesh of wild cock is heavy and it helps physical development. The flesh of the village cock is heavier and it also helps body-building.² For strength Caraka prescribes some special preparations of chicken soup.³ Fried chicken is also prescribed by Caraka.⁴

In diseases like consumption, piles (arṣa), hemothermia (rakta-pitta), in cough (vātakāsa), in fever caused by disorder of wind and in disorder of wind, chicken diet is prescribed by Caraka and Suśruta, the veteran medical authorities of ancient India.⁵

Dharmaśāstric Rules:

The prohibition of eating village cocks for Brāhmaṇas in Dharmaśāstric literature, no doubt, has led to a general belief that cocks were condemned birds in ancient Indian society. But if we take into consideration the data relating to cocks as given above, it seems that Dharmasāstric prohibition of eating village cocks was simply based on hygienic principle and that it did not very much affect the intimate connection of cocks with human life.

Conclusion :

The cocks' feathers found honoured place in royal umbrella, cocks were offered to gods, cocks provided entertainment to people, cocks were pets even with the students, cock's flesh was an indispensable item in royal dinners and cock got recognition for the medical value of its flesh from no less persons than Caraka & Suśruta, the great medical authorities of all times.

1 स्निग्धाश्चोष्णाश्च वृष्याश्च वृंहणाः स्वरबोधनाः, वत्या परं वातहराः..... ॥

Caraka, Sū, XXVII, 65.

2 वृंहणः कुक्कुटो वन्यस्तद्वृष्ट्याम्यो गुरुस्तु च ।

वातरोग क्षयवन्नी विषमज्वरनाशनः ॥

Suśruta, Sū, Ch. 46, 66

3 Caraka, Cikitsā, Ch. XXIV, 12; Ch. II, Sec. I. 38-40, 43-44.

4 Caraka, Cikitsā, Ch. II, Sec. I, 47.

5 Caraka, Cikitsā, Ch. XXIV, 12; Ch. VIII, 15-17, 65; Ch. XIV, 121; Ch. IV, 49; Ch. III, 296; Ch. XVIII, 78-79;

Suśruta, Sū, Ch. 46, 66; Uttaratantram, Ch. 39, 155.

NARRATIVE SCULPTURES FROM MARKANDI

By

A. P. JAMKHEDKAR, Nagpur

At Markandi, a village situated at a distance of about 216 Kilometres South-east of Nagpur in the District of Chanda, is a group of Śaiva temples and a Vaiṣṇava temple known as Daśāvatāra temple.¹ This impressive assemblage of temples which stands on the bank of river Wainagaṅgā, now a protected monument of the Government of India, also houses a host of antiquities which bear witness to the rich splendour the site must have displayed in days of its glory. One can imagine a fraction of the same on the occasion of an annual fair which is still held at this place, otherwise a neglected and out of the way village consisting of about a hundred of huts.

The sculptures taken for study form a small part of a group of loose sculptures some of which, apparently in a good shape have been arranged loosely in the oblong corridor of the Daśāvatāra temple or small shrines in precincts which no more have the main image, or just lying in the open on the platform of old dilapidated temple. Some of these also have the dubious fortune of being fixed with mortar on the body of standing shrines. In the precinct of the temple-complex these lie at different places, but have been taken up for study as they seem to form part of a scheme, subjectwise and stylistically.

The sculptural panels portray nine events from the life of Rāma and though suffering from interruption, for obvious reasons, fairly cover the main events from the life of Rāma. The first panel starts the story, in this particular case, with the hunt of the fabulous golden deer and ends with the coronation of Rāma—Similar interest in depicting the events from the other great saga of ancient Indian tradition, viz. *Mahābhārata*, had also been shown by the sculptors here is proved by one panel narrating the club fight between two Kuru heroes, Bhīma and Duryodhana. The deft depiction of the event makes one feel more sorry than joyful, as it is the only one left of the whole series.

1. The first panel shows in the foreground the golden deer grazing, as the story tells us, not very much away from hermitage of Rāma. The body of the deer is covered with incised circles; the deer is described in the chapters viz, 42, 43, 44 of the Aranya Kāṇḍa² variously as *raupyabinduśataścitrah*,

1 A monograph describing in detail the architectural features as well as revealing its iconographic richness is being published by the University of Nagpur. The author is grateful to Prof. S. B. Deo, who has written the above monograph, for providing the material useful for the present article.

2 All over here the Gītā Press edition (Vikramābda 2020) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been used.

rājivacitraprṣṭhaḥ, *ratnavicitra* and *prṣṭata* (speckled). This fabulous deer, as known from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was Mārīca (Aranya, 42.15) a near relation of Rāvaṇa. On the right in the back-ground is shown the couple, Rāma and Sītā. Sītā is shown seated relaxed (*Sukhāsana*) with her right hand somewhat raised and gazing at the golden deer with admiration. Rāma clad in two garments (a lower one and an *uttariya*) and wearing a few ornaments—such as a necklet, a short *hāra*, bracelets, is shown seated opposite to Sītā looking at the deer in a correspondingly engrossed manner.

2. The next panel shows Rāma, with an arrow discharged from his bow, with his victim; his head severed from the body. In this panel one can make out that along with other ornaments he also wears an *ūrujāla*, *kuṇḍalas* and a *jaṭāmukuṭa*. In the background is evidently Sītā goading Lakṣmaṇa to run to the help of Rama (Aranya, 45.1 ff.) and Lakṣmaṇa standing hesistant a bow in hand. As the *Rāmāyaṇa* says right from the beginning he suspected the deer to be a trick (Aranya, 43.5 ff.) and therefore was not ready to leave the place even when he heard painful shouts '*hā Sīte, hā Lakṣmaṇa!*' emitted by Mārīca to deceive both of them (Aranya, 44.15-19).
3. The third panel shows lonely Sītā attending the ascetic Rāvaṇa with food, and Rāvaṇa in his original *dāśāsya* form afterwards. Here Sītā is shown wearing a lower garment reaching her anklets and the upper part covered with an *uttariya*. The necklet, short *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas* and the matted hair are all evident. The ascetic very well corroborates his description in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. There he is described as wearing a thin saffron garment, a tuft of hair on head, a sunshade and a pair of footware, he also supported a stick and a waterpot on his shoulder.¹ The monk's stick and waterpot supported on the left shoulder are clearly visible, but the same cannot be said of the sunshade and footwares. To give more colour here the sculptor seems to have shown a bell slinging from the girdle and what probably is a garland of skulls around his neck, long enough to reach nearly his ankles.

He accepts the fold served in a oblong shallow bowl, probably a *kapāla*. Thus, here he is represented as a Śaiva ascetic, dreadful enough to create fear in the mind of Sītā.² Asked by Sītā reciprocally, he declares himself as mighty Rāvaṇa and presents himself in his original self with ten heads and twenty arms (Aranya, 49-8 ff.). This is the subject of the other

1 *Abhicakrāma Vaidehiṃ parivrājakarūpadhṛk ji
ślakṣṇakāśāyasamvītaḥ śikhī chatrī upānahī |
vāme cāvasajjyātha śubhe yaṣṭikamaṇḍalū ||*

Aranya, 46.2-3.

2 It was in the capacity of an ascetic that Rāvaṇa asks after her; her lineage etc., and she replies such personal questions (Aranya, 47.2 ff.) on the same account.

half of the panel where he is shown so with the face of an ass as his tenth,¹ seated in *vīrāsana*, only with the sword and shield and the bell visible, the rest of his attributes either indiscernible or mutilated.

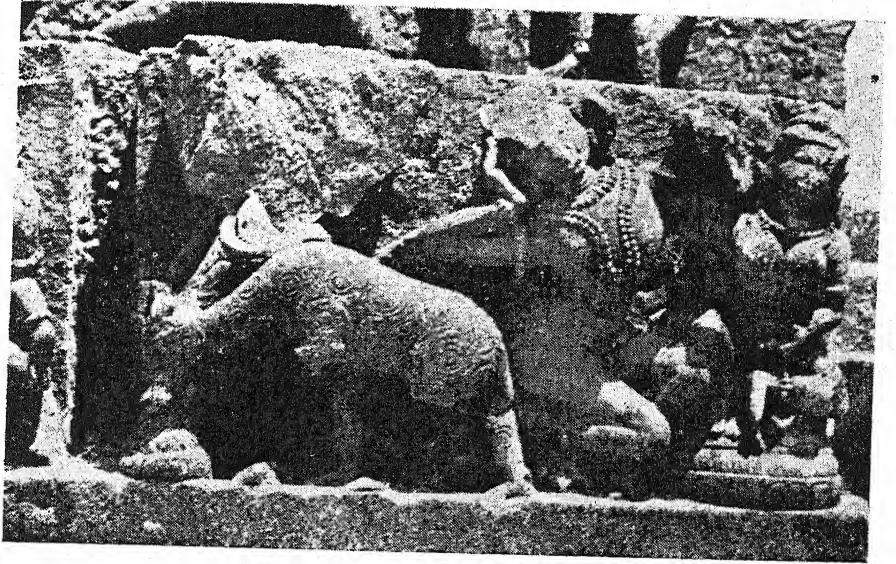
4. The subject of this panel is the fight between Jaṭāyu and Rāvaṇa, and mortally wounded Jaṭāyu relating his unsuccessful attempt to prevent the rape of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. The first half shows the vulture-king striking down upon Rāvaṇa fully ready to bear his blow with his bent right leg forward, left knee firmly planted on the ground and his weapons thrust upwards. Clearly visible is his spear shot upwards, his *triśūla* ready in hand and the sword in right hand poised for a flourish, with one of the left hands testing the sharpness of the edge.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* gives a graphic description of the combat of the two. Rāvaṇa, seated in his chariot fighting with all his might and equipment with the bird-king who was fighting to fulfil his promise to Rāma of protecting Sītā in the absence of the two brothers (*Aranya*, 14.36). Jaṭāyu fought in spite of his infirmity and old age with the natural weapons of a bird, his sharp beak and claws.

The inevitable consequence of the combat was left as a tragic sight for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa who look pitifully at the mortally wounded Jaṭāyu with his wings and sides chopped with the sword of Rāvaṇa. In the sculpture, Lakṣmaṇa peeping over Rāma's back, sees the wounded bird pointed at by Rāma with all dejection.

5. In the next scene are seen the princely monkey brothers engaged in a keen combat facing one another in *ālīḍha*-*pratyālīḍha* positions, legs interlocked, hands grabbing at each other, torsos thrust in keen tussle. Clutching Sugrīva in the firm lock of his left hand, is seen Vālin overpowering the younger Sugrīva who looks helpless. Rāma thinking it proper strikes, at that very moment, Vālin in his chest (*Kiṣkindhā*, 16.33) with an arrow from his bow; Lakṣmaṇa with a bow is seen behind him.
6. With some of the panels missing, the next one shows a warrior fighting with bare hands and creating panic among the monkeys. Many of the monkeys fallen on ground, rushing for a quick flight look backwards awestricken at the plight of some of them who are still helplessly slinging from one of the giant's arms and one of them clasped firmly in another arm.

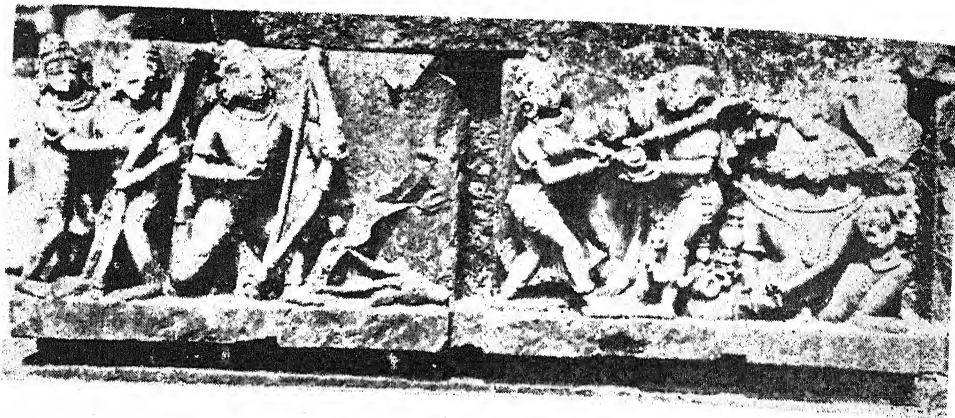
1 The present text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not offer any clue except a doubtful passage which says that the clouds emitted sounds like a donkey (? *meghāśca Kharanissvanāḥ*, *Uttara*, 9-31b) and similar ill omens at the time of the birth of Rāvaṇa. Similar passages occur in the *Mahābhārata* while describing the omens at the time of the birth of Duryodhana who is also said to have roared, immediately after his birth like a donkey *Rāsabhārāvasadrśaṃ rarāsa ca nanāda ca* / *Ādi*, 114-28ab).



Panel 1



Panel 5



Panels 2 and 3



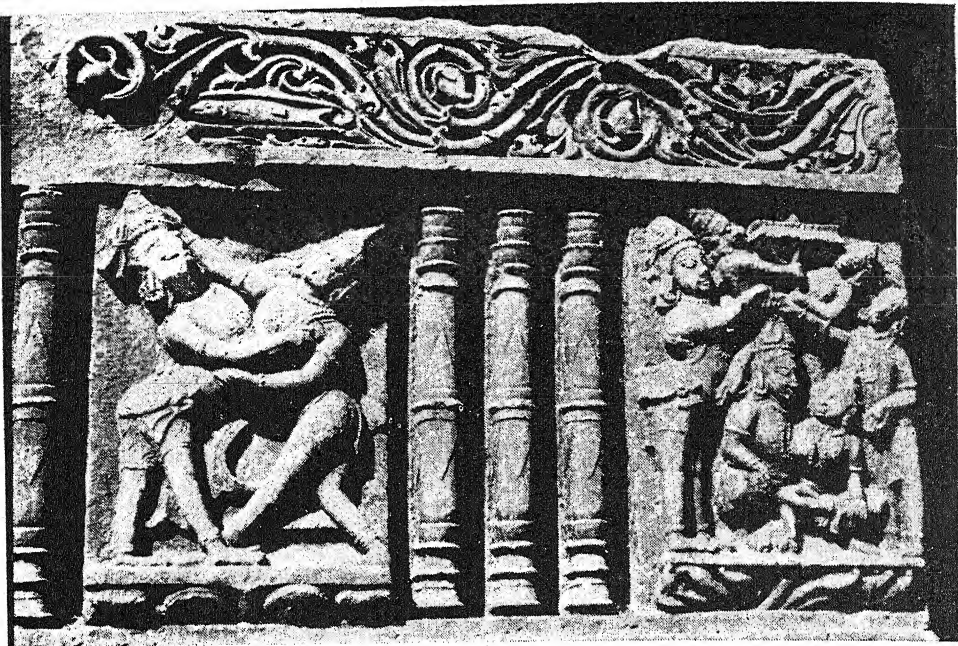
Panels 3 and 4



Panel 6



Panel 7



Panels 8 and 9



Panels 10 and 11

A casual reading of the many of the chapters in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* shows that Kumbhakarna is the only hero who is supposed to have fought the monkeys with bare hands. In order to frighten them he caught them in his hands and devoured them alive, when he could no more fight with his weapon śūla. He had flung that weapon in the direction of Sugrīva but it was intercepted and broken into two pieces by Hanūmat and thereby invoked his wrath. The demon, however, enraged at this started devouring the monkeys and hit Sugrīva into a swoon and ultimately kidnapped him (*Yuddha*, 67.62-82). The panel very well answers the stanza 82ab which describes Sugrīva helplessly trying to get away from the firm grip.

7. This panel shows Rāvaṇa seated in the Vīrāsana in his chariot with his sword drawn and ready to strike. Other attributes and weapons visible are his shield, bow bell and a triśūla held horizontally over his head ready to be hurled anytime.¹ His charioteer is driving the chariot drawn by probably four horses, two of which are visible.
8. This panel enlivens a very touching scene described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hanūmān, in order to intimate the return of Rāma from the forest, meets Bharata ematiated and dejected living in an hermitage. He had gathered his matted hair in a mass, was wearing bark garment and . . . leading the simple life of a hermit (*Yuddha*, 125.30-31). Rāma seeing him after a long time drew him to his lap and dragged in a close embrace in all joy (*Yuddha*, 127.41). The panel shows the eager brothers running into each other's arms. Bharata is clad in a simple knee reaching lower garment and has gathered his hair in a high mass of matted hair. He has also a bag tied at his waist.
9. The last is coronation of Rāma. Here Rāma seated in latitāsana with Sītā in his left lap is being anointed with water sprinkled over their heads by two persons. Backwards are seen two monkeys holding the parasol over the head of the new king. Rāma is still shown wearing matted hair. The ascetic figure on his proper right seems to be, because of similarity in appearance, Bharata; especially because of the distinguishing bag tied at the waist. The two monkeys might be Hanūmat and Sugrīva who were closely associated with him.

The details given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, do not tally in the case of the coronation, though there is no doubt that this panel depicts the same event.

- 10&11 The two panels narrate one of the final events in the Kura-saga, viz. club-fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana. In the first panel are shown the two warriors against the background of a semicircular lake divided into

1 This śūla, described as adorned with eight bells, when hurled on Rāma was shattered midway with the Vāsavi Śakti by Rāma (*Yuddha*, 102.56-66).

five parts. The representation of the lake is also made full with the depiction of aquatic animals like fish, frog and tortoise. Both the warriors clad in the usual two garments, adorned with ornaments such as necklets, short hāras, waist bands ūrūjālas and kuṇḍalas. Both wield a club in the right hand and face each other in combat in Virāsana. The only difference which marks the two is that the one on the right wears a crown while the other has simply gathered his hair in a mass. One is Duryodhana and the other Bhīma. The venue of this fight is Samanta—pañcaka i.e. the five pools at the Kurukṣetra.¹ In the second panel Duryodhana is shown vanquished with his thigh broken and tossing up his other leg in the air. Bhīma who is shown with his right hand smashing down the gadā at its object,² also insults him by kicking him at his crown. On his proper right can be seen the four-armed spectator. He can be recognised as Kṛṣṇa, from his club on which he rests his left hand and holds a conch in his upper hand. He has raised his proper right hand and probably is shown making a sign to Bhīma—as he seems about to strike his own thigh.³ In this connection Bhīma's kicking at the crown of Duryodhana needs some consideration. Kicking a person at his head could be the greatest insult done to a person but at the same time an immoral act done to one's defeated opponent according to the code of fighting accepted in the contemporary days. The *Mahābhārata* says that after vanquishing Duryodhana in combat Bhīma reminds him of his deriding laugh at the time of diceplay and kicked him at his head.⁴ Dharmarāja rebukes Bhīma for his immoral act,⁵ but Bhīma could not help it as he was bound by his own words to the act.⁶

1 The Kurukṣetra Samanta-pañcaka has been defined as the area bounded by the following sacred places : Tarantu, Karunta, Ramahradas, and Macakruka (*Mbh.*, Vana, 83.208). After the death of Śalya and Śakuni the orphaned armies of Duryodhana were massacred by the Pāṇḍavas. Duryodhana dejected at this sight left the battlefield for a hiding place, the Dvaipāyana pool. From this place he was forced to come out and fight a duel with Bhīma by Kṛṣṇa and Dharmarāja. Balarāma who was nearby on a pilgrimage of Sarasvatī appeared at the news and suggested Samanta-pañcaka as the proper site (*Mbh.* Vana. cantos 54-55). The sculptor has suggested the venue by showing five pools as described above.

2 Before the fight had started Vāsudeva reminds him of his vow to break the thighs of Duryodhana (Śalya, 33.28 ab; cf. also for the vow Sabhā. 77.10-14, 77.28)

3 When both Duryodhana and Bhīma were engaged in the fight, Arjuna asks Kṛṣṇa as to who should win. Asked, Kṛṣṇa replies that though physically superior Bhīma should be unable to overcome Duryodhana lest he resorts to foul means. (Śalya, 58.3-4). He further suggests a way out and asks Arjuna to remind Bhīma of his vow by slapping his thigh, which Arjuna does very earnestly (*Ibid.*, 58.21). And taking this clue Bhīma does accordingly (Stanzas 56-47). The sculptural depiction avoids Arjuna, as also other spectators like Baladeva and rest of the Pāṇḍava warriors who had gathered there.

4 *Mbh.*, Śalya, 59.5

5 *Ibid.*, 59.14-16

6 *Ibid.*, Sabhā, 77.28

Style, Conventions and Devices :

All these sculptures bear certain common traits and artistic features which make them distinct. In these specimens the human form is basically conceived and articulated with round, tapering longish legs supporting the slim waist from which flares up a wide chest. This is set in the frame of long and slender arms reaching straight downwards in contrast to the curves of the body. On the slightly tapering slender neck vests a roundish face marked by straight nose with widish nostrils emphasized by the wide mouth with upturned corners, rather prominent cheeks, wide and big eyes with prominent, long and upturned flourish of eye brows. This richness of bodily features is contrasted with rather sparse and simple ornaments worn on it. The garments otherwise unnoticeable and indicated with linear marks at their ends or designs become prominent in folds, indicated sideways or in front, and also can be seen during movement as can be seen in the case of Sītā attending to the hermit. These are also skillfully employed some times to indicate force of movements as in the case of uttarīya in the Bhīma-Duryodhana combat. The most important feature of these panels is the bodily movements which are rather exaggerating than imitative. And in exaggeration these become more curvilinear and create balances, along with the relief, in the form of circles and semicircles. One of the examples illustrating the force of movement and also composition can be the fight between Kumbhakarna and monkeys. Because of the obvious limitations of the medium certain devices also seem to have been employed, e.g. that Lakṣmaṇa is reluctant to reach Rāma is seen not only from the way Sītā is pushing him forward but is more by the legs which still refuse to turn in the direction his eyes see. To emphasize continuity two temporally separated events are shown together; but in such a case the participants do not face each other (e.g. battle of Jaṭāyus and Rāvaṇa, and the two heroes with Jaṭāyus). The same device is used to bring together contemporaneous events spatially separated (e.g. Hunt of Mārīca and Lakṣmaṇa's reluctance). In Bhīma—Duryodhana combat the venue is suggested by the five pools and for what the great author of *Mbh.* had to expend several adhyāyas is shown with a deft composition. The simultaneous depiction of the kick and stroke of gadā is indeed clever.

In such a type of depictions minor omissions are but expected if one compares these with the literary texts such as the presence of other characters say in Vālivadha or Bhīma-Duryodhana fight. But deviations can be worth considerations and could be significant. For example Kṛṣṇa replacing Arjuna, or Rāvaṇa with the mouth of an ass. These, if searched in the light of literary tradition and local legends, could shed light on the provincial cultural traditions.

Tradition—Such narrative panels depicting the stories of the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have a tradition of their own in the sculptural contest; especially those relating to Kṛṣṇa, which go back to the times of the

Kuṣānas. In the Gupta period, these sculptures received a new dimension because of the skillful composition and artistic depiction. This is very well illustrated on the temple walls of the Viṣṇu Temple at Deogarh¹ and the sculptural remains recovered from Paunar.² A part from their stray depiction in the early temples (eg. Virūpākṣa Temple, Paṭṭadakal³) they are very elaborately covered in the sculptural friezes at the Kailāsa Elura.⁴ In the same period and even later the themes became popular even amongst South-east Asian countries, as a result of which one sees them on the Brahmanical temples at Prambanan (9th Cent. A.D.) in Java,⁵ and Bantey Srei (10th-14th Cent. A.D.) and Angkor Wāt in Cambodia.⁶ The tradition continued even upto the late medieval period, as can be seen from the wooden carvings of the Nepalese temples of Gurkha period.

Date :

The physiognomical features, ornaments and dress, their delineation and the association of sculptures could be fair guides to decide the date of these sculptures. The sculptures are loose, but are quite in connosance with those appearing on the temple walls whose period can be fairly decided. So also they don't seem to have been brought from somewhere outside. The stylistic considerations, with ones told above, bring these sculptures more near to the central Indian tradition of the 12th century and can be dated to be roughly of that period.

1 *MAI*, No. 70.

2 Mirashi, V. V., *Sarūpabhārati*, p. 271 ff.

3 Cf. Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 307.

4 Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 453.

5 Kempers, A. J. B., *The Ancient Indonesian Art*, Pls. 153, 154, 160.

6 Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, Pl. 529-30, 542-43.

TRIVARANAGARA AND THE DATE OF THE PĀṇḌAVA KING TĪVARA OF SOUTH KOSALA

By

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It is well known to the students of Indian history that the Viṣṇukunḍis¹ held sway over Andhra before the advent of the Chālukyas there. The king Mādhavavarman of the Ipur plates (set I) of the family is endowed with the title *Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-jana-hṛdaya-nandana*,² meaning " one who has delighted the hearts of the young women in the houses at Trivaranagara. " The king Mādhavavarman, of the Polamuru plates (set I) of the same family is also found endowed with the same title, but in a slightly modified form.³ Scholars who have dealt with the history of the Viṣṇukunḍis sharply differ from one another in identifying Trivaranagara and is interpreting the title. Some of the writers are also of the view that the title under question contains a reference to the king Tivara of Pāṇḍava family of South Kosala and that therefore it decides the date of that ruler. The views of the scholars on the subject fall into five distinct schools. They are as follows :

(1) The first school was started by Shri H. Krishna Sastri. Basing on the Vākāṭaka-Viṣṇukunḍi matrimonial alliance, this school believes in the North Indian origin of the Viṣṇukunḍis and proposes to identify Trivaranagara with Tripurī (i.e. the modern Tewar) the capital of the Kalachuris, near Jubbulpore.⁴

(2) The second school is of Dr. Hultzsch. It does not subscribe to the above theory of identification of Trivaranagara with the distant Tewar. But it believes that the place was a residence of Mādhavavarman. However it has made no attempt to identify this place.⁵

(3) The third school was found by Shri K. V. Lakshman Rao. On the basis of the epithet under discussion it attributes both the Ipur (I) and Polamuru (I) plates to one and the same Mādhavavarman, who, in view of this school, was a grand-son of Vikramendravarman of the Chikkulla plates. This

1 Excepting the Chikkulla plates of Vikramendravarman II (E.I. IV, pp. 193 ff.) all the other records of the family spell the name of the family as *Viṣṇukunḍi* only with *i*-ending and not *kuṇḍin* with *n*-ending as usually believed.

2 Ibid., XVII, p. 336, lines 4-5.

3 i. e. *Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-ṛaṭiḥ*. *Journal of Department of Letters* (JDL) XI, p. lines 8-9.

4 A. R. Ep., 1920, p. 99.

5 E. I. XVII, p. 335.

school underlines the Trivaranagara=Tripurī equation of the first school, and takes the epithet as indicative of the marriage of the Viṣṇukuṇḍi with a princess of Tripurī.¹

(4) The fourth school has been started by Dr. D. C. Sircar. On the basis of the common epithets attributing eleven *Aśvamedhas* and *Agniṣṭoma-sahasra* to Mādhavavarman found in both the Ipur (I) and Polamuru (I) plates, this school argues that there could have been only one such Viṣṇukuṇḍi Mādhavavarman and that he was the great-grand-father of the said Vikramendravarman. To this Mādhavavarman, this school ascribes both the above records. It understands the expression *Trivaranagara* in the sense of "the city of (the king) Trivara," and identifies this Trivara with Tivara of Pāṇḍava family (also called Somavarṁśa) of South Kosala. It looks upon the epithet under question as indicative of the Mādhavavarman's conquest of that city of Tivara. Coming to the age of the said Tivara, this school concurs with those who assign the characters of the Pāṇḍava charters to the sixth century and rejects the opinion of Dr. Fleet and Prof. Kielhorn who had assigned the characters of the said records to the eighth century.² Hence the scholars of this school have also worked out a synchronism of the Viṣṇukuṇḍi Mādhavavarman with the Pāṇḍava king Tivara by assigning the former to 525-68 A.D. and the latter to 530-50 A.D.³

(5) The fifth school is of Prof. K.A.N. Sastri. Following the third school it attributes both the Ipur (I) and Polamuru (I) charters to the later Mādhavavarman, but interprets the expression *Trivaranagara* in the sense of "three good cities". It concludes that the epithet of Mādhavavarman therefore "means no more than that there were three flourishing cities in the Viṣṇukuṇḍi kingdom where the king resided by turn."⁴

It may be noted that out of the above five schools, the second and fifth ones, inspite of their mutual differences, agree to locate what is called Trivaranagara within the Viṣṇukuṇḍi kingdom itself i.e. the Veṅḡ country. Thus they constitute a single group which may be hereinafter called as the First Group. Likewise, the first, third and fourth schools notwithstanding their individual disagreements, concur to locate Trivaranagara outside the Veṅḡ country. Hence these three make one group which may be referred to hereinafter as the Second Group. Even among these three schools the first and the third identify Trivaranagara with Tripurī while the fourth equates it with a Pāṇḍava capital. The relative popularity of these schools is this.

1 JDL, XI, p. 39.

2 D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Sātavāhanas* (SS) (1939) p. 238., *The Classical Age* (CA) Ed. R. C. Majumdar etc. 1951, p. 208.

3 E. I., XXII, p. 21.

4 CA, p. 225.

No scholar now takes up the first group seriously while a good number of writers favour the second group. Even there also only a few believe¹ in the Trivaranagara—Tripurī equation of the first and third school. On the contrary, many follow the Trivaranagara—Pāṇḍava capital equation of the fourth school. Again, a major number of scholars who, following the third and fifth schools ascribe both the Ipur (I) and Polamuru (I) plates to the later Mādhavavarman underline this equation². Thus, the title proves to be a mysterious and controversial one. The aim of the present paper is to examine the implications of the various theories in the field and to arrive at a plausible solution to this problem. To begin with one may examine the respective theories of the different schools of the popular second group.

Regarding the first school it may be pointed out that it is no longer possible to maintain with reason the theory of the North Indian origin of the Viṣṇukunḍis, because all the places mentioned in the Viṣṇukunḍi charters are to be identified with the places in Andhra Pradesh. Moreover, in the recently discovered Jummalagudem plates (II) of Vikramendravarman,³ the Viṣṇukunḍis are found calling themselves as Śrīpārvatēyas⁴ or the people hailing from the Parvata or Śrīparvata i.e. the modern Śrīśailam in the Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh. The Vākāṭaka-Viṣṇukunḍi matrimonial relation too may not indicate the North Indian origin of the dynasty. For in view of a Vākāṭaka inscription from Amarāvati,⁵ even the Vākāṭaka contact with the Andhra area in much earlier time can not be ruled out.

Coming to the third school, one may naturally ask why Tripurī should be referred to as Trivaranagara at all, not once only, but twice. For, the Jubbulpore area is called as Traipura in the *Purāṇas*⁶ and as the Tripurī-viṣaya in the Betul plates of Saṅkṣobha, dated in the Gupta year 199 (518 A.D.).⁷ Again in view of the recent discoveries and researches it is imperative now to conclude that the king Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates (I) was different from, and much later than his namesake⁸ who was the great-grand-father of Vikramendravarman of the Chikkulla plates, and to whom the Ipur plates (I) are to be ascribed on the basis of the palaeography, language etc. of that charter. Therefore the

1 E.I., XXV, p. 269.

2 See E.I., XXII, pp. 19 ff., p. 91, Krishna Rao, B. V., *A Hist. of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, pp. 520 ff., QJMS, XXX, pp. 63 ff, 314 ff., *A. P. Govt. Arch. Series*, No. 8, pp. 15-16, etc.

3 JIH, XLIII, pp. 733 ff.

4 Text line 26.

5 E.I., XV, p. 267 and plate.

6 See CII, V, p. CLV.

7 E.I., VIII, pp. 284 ff.

8 See *Journ. Ori. Inst.* (Baroda), XVI, pp. 375 ff.

interpretation of this school would naturally lead one to an unnecessary assumption that both the above Viṣṇukunḍis married the princesses of Tripurī of their respective times.

If on the basis of the epithet both the said records are attributed to the earlier Mādhavavarman (i.e. the great-grand-father of Vikramendravarman of the Chikkulla charter), then it would be inexplicable why that Mādhavavarman should boast himself of his marriage with a Tripurī princess alone. For, though he is known to have married a princess of the Vākātaka family, the most supreme power of the Deccan of the period,¹ he appears not to care even to refer to that marriage in his record. The question of ascribing the above two charters to the later Mādhavavarman of the post-Vikramendravarman period will be reviewed subsequently.

In order to understand fully the implications of the theory of the most popular fourth school, the following points may be borne in mind.

The Konedda² and Nivina³ grants of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja⁴, credit that Śailodbhava king with a spectacular victory over a Śailodbhava scion Mādhavavarman along with the latter's ally Trīvara in a battle at the foot of the Vindhyas. The said Śailodbhava charters bear no dates in any era, and therefore, on palaeographical grounds they are to be assigned to the seventh century A.D. At the same time, the above Trīvara of these records is also taken to be a Pāṇḍava ruler of South Kosala. So, the scholars of this school are compelled to maintain⁵ that there were two Tīvaras in the Pāṇḍava family. According to these scholars the first Tīvara issued the Rajim⁶ Baloda⁷ and Bonda⁸ plates and is to be assigned to the third quarter of the sixth century, and it was this king who is referred to in the epithet of the Viṣṇukunḍi Mādhavavarman, now under discussion. The second Tīvara, unknown otherwise, is believed to be a descendant of the first and to have been defeated by the Śailodbhava Dharmarāja, along with his protege Mādhavavarman. It is now really interesting to note that the same scholars who are allergic to the very idea of two Viṣṇukunḍi Mādhavavarmans being credited with eleven *Aśvamedhas* thus find themselves in a situation where they cannot escape maintaining the existence of two Pāṇḍava Tīvaras both of whom had political contacts, in one way or other, with their

1 Sastri K. A. N., *A. Hist. of S. Ind.* (1966), p. 107.

2 *E. I.*, XIX, pp. 275 ff.

3 *E. I.*, XXI, pp. 24 ff.

4 *E. I.*, XXXIV, p. 113.

5 *E. I.*, XXI, p. 21 f. n. 5; XXXIV, pp. 112-13.

6 *CII*, III, pp. 291 ff.

7 *E. I.*, VII, pp. 104 ff.

8 *E. I.*, XXXIV, pp. 111 ff.

respective contemporary neighbouring kings who were named Mādhavavarmans, and both the contacts proved to be disastrous for both the Pāṇḍavas.

Further more, the Tummudagudem plates (set II) referred to above, gives śaka 488 or 555 A.D. for Vikramēndravarman II. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that his great grand-father Mādhavavarman lived sometime in the second half of the fifth century. At the same time, even according to the liberal view of the fourth school, the first Tivara is to be assigned to the second or the third quarter of the sixth century.¹ So, this school may have to accept necessarily one more Pāṇḍava Tivara in the fifth century, simply to be vanquished by his contemporary Viṣṇukuṇḍi Mādhavavarman.

As we saw earlier the fourth school includes also those scholars who, on the basis of the title under study, ascribe both the Ipur (I) and Polamuru (I) records to that Mādhavavarman of the post-Vikramendravarman period. As this king is assigned to 546-610² A.D. or 556-616 A.D.³. These scholars may avoid a similar predicament of accepting a Tivara in the fifth century and may conveniently identify the alleged adversary of the said Mādhavavarman with that Tivara of Rājim plates etc. But, as we have seen earlier, there are reasons to believe that the Mādhavavarman of Polamuru set I was quite different from, and much later than, his namesake of the Ipur (set I).

Now, it may be seen that even if both the above plates are attributed to the later Mādhavavarman simply on the basis of the epithet *Trivaranagara* etc. alone, ignoring all the other reasons given earlier, it may not be possible to work out a synchronism of that Viṣṇukuṇḍi with the Pāṇḍava Tivara. Firstly, the palaeography of the Pāṇḍava records would come in the way. For, it has been accepted on all hands that there must have been one Pāṇḍava Tivara about the last quarter of the seventh century and that it was this king who was defeated by the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja. In fact, there appears to be no valid reason why one should not identify that Tivara himself with the issuer of the Rajim plates etc. Really, there appears to be much truth when Shri A. Ghosh points out⁴ that the forms of the letters in the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Nanna (or of Bhavadeva Raṇakesarin)⁵ the father of Tivara are later than those of the Āraṅḡ plates of Bhīmasena II of the Gupta year 282 (601 A.D.)⁶ and that the former do not differ much from the characters of the above mentioned Kondedda and Nivina grants. Therefore Nanna's son Tivara may have to be placed in the last quarter

1 Ibid. p. 112; XXII, p. 19.

2 JDL, XI, p. 49.

3 Sastri K. A. N., *op. cit.*, p. 106, CA, p. 223.

4 E.I, XXV, pp. 268 ff.

5 Bhandarkar's List, No. 1650; JRAS, 1905, pp. 617 ff.

6 E.I, IX, pp. 342 ff.

of the seventh century i.e. nearly half a century after the total disappearance of the Viṣṇukunḍis.

By way of counteracting the above argument of palaeography, some have proposed to read the date of the said Āraṅ plates as 182 (501 A.D.) and not 282 (601 A.D.).¹ But the untenability of that reading has already been exposed by Dr. Sircar himself,² even though that scholar strongly advocates the synchronism Tivara and the Viṣṇukunḍi Mādhavavarman. In this connection one may also add that the characters of the Āraṅ plates bear a good resemblance to that of the Kanas (Puri District) plates of Lokavigraha dated in Gupta year 280 (599 A.D.).³

In this connection, a similarity between the characters of the Bhāṇḍak inscription and those of the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the [Gupta] year 269 (588-89 A.D.)⁴ has been suggested as an antidote to the above palaeographical difficulty. Consequently it has been concluded that a date about 550 A.D. or the third quarter of the sixth century for Tivara is not palaeographically impossible.⁵ But, it is not clear why, in order to arrive at the approximate date of the characters of the Bhāṇḍak (Chanda District, Maharashtra) inscription one should go all the way to the far off Bodh-Gayā (Gaya District, Bihar) in search of the inscription of Mahānāman, especially when there is a dated inscription of Bhīmasena II at Āraṅ (Raipur District, M.P.) nearby. In fact, an inscription of the very same Bhavadēva Raṇakesarin comes from Āraṅ itself.⁶ Besides, the above Bhāṇḍak inscription itself is believed to have come originally from Āraṅ.⁷ Thus, on the above grounds of palaeography, Tivara is to be assigned to a period not earlier than the middle of the seventh century, when the Viṣṇukunḍis had already disappeared and the Chālukyas were in complete control of the Andhra country.

However, to fix up a date for Tivara in the sixth century, the above scholars do not so much depend on the palaeography of the Pāṇḍava charters (for they have been assigned to the eighth century by Kielhorn⁸ and Fleet)⁹ and their language and style (for they may point to the seventh century also),¹⁰ as they

1 E.I, XXVI, pp. 227-28.

2 E.I, XXXIII, p. 256, CA, p. 218 f.n.

3 E.I, XXVIII, plate facing p. 331.

4 CH, III, pp. 274 ff.

5 E.I, XXVI, p. 228, XXXIV, p. 112.

6 Hiralal's List, (2nd Ed.) p. 110, No. 183.

7 See E.I, XXIII, pp. 116 ff; XXXIII, pp. 252 ff.

8 E.I, IV, p. 258.

9 CH, III, p. 294.

10 E.I, XXII, p. 18.

do on Prof. Raychaudhuri's theory¹ of the supposed synchronism of Tivara's nephew Harṣagupta with the Maukhari Sūryavarman of the Haraha inscription of V.S. 611 (554-55 A.D.).² This theory, if accepted, would naturally lead us to the Tivara-Mādhavavarman synchronism. But this view is based on the suggested identification of the said Maukhari with his namesake who figures as the father-in-law of Harṣagupta in the latter's son Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna's Sirpur inscription.³ The relevant passage of that record on which the theory rests runs as follows :

*Nishpaṅkē Magadhādhipatiya-mahatām jātāḥ kulē Varmaṇām, + + + +
yām=āsādyā sutāṇi Himāchala iva śrī-Sūryavarmā nṛpaḥ,
prāpa prāk-paramēśvara-śvaśuratāgarvānikharvaṇi padam || (verse 16).
(Here Yām stands for Vāsaṭā, the queen of Harṣagupta).*

But, it is to be noted that this verse in no way supports the theory. For, it clearly shows that Harṣagupta's father-in-law Sūryavarman belonged to the family of the Varmans. There are scholars who are of the opinion that that family was different from the family of the Maukharis⁴ and that that Sūryavarman flourished in about the eighth century and belonged to the Western Magadha dynasty.⁵ The relevant arguments of those scholars need not be repeated here. However, it may be added here that the Maukharis never called themselves Varmans, though they had personal names ending in *varman*, just like the names of the kings of many other contemporary dynasties of India. Had the author of the said Sirpur *prāśasti* thought of a Maukhari in the context, he would have as well composed something like *utpanno Magadhādhipatiya-mahatām śrī-Maukharīṇām kule* etc.

Moreover, any attempt to assign Tivara to the last quarter or to the middle of the sixth century, so as to make him a contemporary of Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates (I) may go counter to certain accepted facts in the history of South Kosala. For, the very same scholars of the fourth school are inclined to identify⁶ the king Śarabha, the founder of the Śarabhapuriya dynasty, with his namesake, the maternal grand-father of Gōparāja, who was a feudatory of the Gupta king Bhānugupta and who died a heroic death at Eran in 510 A.D., as stated in the Eran pillar inscription of that king dated in Gupta year 191 (510-11 A.D.).⁷ Consequently the chief Śarabha may have to be assigned to the last

1 *Political History of Ancient India*, I Ed. (1923) p. 305; IV Ed. (1953) p. 605.

2 E.I, XIV, pp. 110 ff.

3 E.I, XI, pp. 184 ff.

4 E.I, XXV, p. 270.

5 E.I, XI, p. 185.

6 E.I, XXII, p. 17; CA, p. 219.

7 CII, III, pp. 91 ff.

quarter of the fifth century i.e. 475-500 A.D. It is known that the said chief was followed on the Śarabhapura throne by (1) (his son) Narendra; (2) (the latter's son) Prasannamātra; (3) (his son) Jayarāja; (4) (his brother) Mānamātra Durgarāja; (5) (his son) Sudevarāja; and (6) (his brother) Pravaraarāja. The last king or one of his immediate successors is believed to have been overthrown by the Pāṇḍuvarṃśi king Nanna or his son Tivara.¹ To accommodate all these rulers between 500 A.D. and 575 or 600 A.D. is hardly possible without some unnecessary assumption. Further another scholar of this fourth school who assigns, as we have seen already, Tivara to 530-50 A.D.,² and who prefers to take the date of the Āraṅg plates of Bhīmasēna II to be 501-02 A.D., is of the opinion that the last mentioned king viz. Bhīmasēna II, was overthrown soon after that date by the Śarabhapuriya king Jayarāja.³ The latter's rule was followed, as we know, by the reigns of the rulers listed above. The difficulty of accommodating all these reigns, between 502 and 550 A.D. is quite obvious.

On the other hand it is logical to assume that the reigns of those six or seven kings might have comprised normally at least about 125 or 150 years. Therefore, Tivara may better be assigned to sometime about the middle of the seventh century. This suggestion seems to receive corroboration from the synchronism of that king with the Śailodbhava Dharmarāja, the grand-son of Mādhavarāja II i.e. Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja of the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅka, dated in Gupta year 300 (619-20 A.D.).⁴

Above all even the meaning of the title *Trivaranagara* etc. may not support the theory of the fourth school. For, as we already saw, the epithet means "one who has delighted the hearts of women in the houses at Tirvaranagara". Here the expression *Trivara-nagara* does not appear to have been used in the sense of "the city of Trivara", as this school believes. For, a reference of a royal city in that fashion seems to be rather unusual. Therefore, the expression may ordinarily mean "a city called Trivara" just as *Dvārakā-nagara*, *Kāśī-purī* etc. denote the cities called Dvārakā, Kāśī etc. Consequently there may not be ordinarily any reference to any person in this place name. It may also be borne in mind, in this context, that even the Pāṇḍava records do not refer to any such Trivaranagara at all, though they speak of Śrīpura, perhaps as the royal capital.

The second and perhaps more important point is this: If Mādhavavarman had conquered Tivara and his city, it would be anomalous on the part of the author of the text of the Viṣṇukunḍi inscription to describe the hero as a delighter

1 CA, pp. 219-20, 715.

2 E.I, XXII, p. 21.

3 E.I, XXVI, p. 229.

4 E.I, VI, pp. 143 ff., See CA, p. 145.

of the hearts of the women of the vanquished city. For, the conqueror must have made them, only to weep. Epigraphs and literary works are abundant with the descriptions of sufferings of the women of the vanquished enemies.¹

So in view of the palaeography of the characters of the Pāṇḍava records, in view of the genealogy and chronology of both the Viṣṇukuṇḍis and of the rulers of South Kosala; in view of the meaning of the epithet under question and in view of the many other points discussed above it is to be accepted that the Pāṇḍava Tivara, might not at all have been a contemporary of any of the Viṣṇukuṇḍi Mādhavavarmans and that therefore that king cannot be thought of here while interpreting the title *Trivaranagara* etc.

Now let us study the implications of the theories of the two schools of the First Group also.

While one studies the theory of the fifth school, the doubt that arises first is this: If *Trivaranagara* of the title under study means simply "three good cities" in the Viṣṇukuṇḍi kingdom, how is it that no Viṣṇukuṇḍi other than Mādhavavarman of the Ipur (I) and Polamuru (I) plates (for this school ascribes both these charters to that Mādhavavarman of the post-Vikramendrarman (II) period) is endowed with such a title? Moreover a description of the kings and heroes in that fashion is not met with anywhere else.

Thus, when all the above theories of these four schools are set aside by the process of elimination (*pariśeṣāt*), the solution seems to lie in the view of the third school of Dr. Hultzsch who had taken *Trivaranagara* to be a name of the residence of the king. An interpretation of the epithet bearing on this meaning of *Trivaranagara* may very well be in tune with the Indian poetic tradition of describing the women folks of the capital cities to have felt elated when their beloved kings and princes went around in the streets of the cities, especially after their long absence due to one reason or other.² Therefore, it is certain that *Trivaranagara* was the capital of the Viṣṇukuṇḍis and that the epithet under study signifies that both the Mādhavavarmans of the Ipur (I) and Polamuru (I)

1 See e.g. *Cakshur-vikshepo vipakshanārīṇām*, a description of the Gurjara prince Rāṇaka (E.I., XXVI, p. 201, line 4) and *nirmalasy-āpi malinīkṛt-ārāti-vanitā-mukha-kamala-dyuteḥ*, a description of Tārāpīḍa in the *Kādambarī* (NSP, 1948), p. 121. By way of suggesting a way-out, two scholars of the fourth school have cited two examples each in support of their contention (SS, p. 401; E.I., XXII, p. 20). But those passages, if studied carefully and critically in the context in which they occur, would show that in no way they serve the purpose they are quoted for.

2 See e.g. *Mahābhārata*, *Sāntiparvan* (BOI, Ed.) Ch. 39; *Kādambarī* (op. cit.) p. 185; *Kathāsaritsāgara* (NSP), *Lambaka* III, *Taraṅga* VI, verse 223; *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (NSP) *Lambaka* III, verses 311-14, 414; etc.

plates brought prosperity to this capital Trivaranagara. This Trivaranagara may be identified tentatively with the modern Tiruvuru ($17^{\circ} 10'$ North and $30^{\circ} 35'$ East), the headquarter of the taluka of that name in the Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh. A close study of all the necessary records of the family reveals the circumstances that led both the Mādhavavarmans of the Ipur (I) and Polamuru (I) plates to shift their capitals from some other place to Trivaranagara. Such a study, though a necessary one, is bound to be out of proportion to this paper and therefore serves as an independent topic for a separate article.

THE MADANIKĀS OF PĀLAMPĒṬ

By

Y. GOPAL REDDY, Anantapur (A.P.)

Pālāmpēṭ, is a small village in the Mulugu *Tāluq* of Warangal District of Āndhra Pradesh. It is situated nearly 42 miles north-west of Hanamkōṇḍa. It is set in a background of beautiful hills, luxuriant vegetation and abundance of water. The magnificent lake nearby covers an area of nearly eight square miles and is formed by a ring of hills on three sides with a colossal bund only on one side that is on the north—an excellent testimony to the care and skill of the Kākatiyas in irrigation works of a high order.¹

Pālāmpēṭ, although to-day is an obscure and unhealthy village, might be once an important centre of the Kākatiyas. Nearly one mile south-east of the village lay a group of temples, but majority of them are in a threatening state of decay. "The temples at Pālāmpēṭ constitute, perhaps, the brightest stars in the galaxy of mediaeval Deccan temples".²

The main temple at Pālāmpēṭ is cruciform on plan and placed on an elevated platform, 6'-4" in height, and enclosed by a low but massive wall, 9 feet in height and 6'-6" in thickness and running 272 feet East to West and 259 feet North to South. It consists of a *navaraṅga* or *mahāmaṇḍapa* (41' × 41') *śukanāsi* or antechamber (15'-8" × 14'-10") and *garbhagrha* (15'-8" × 15'-8"). The plinth of the platform instead of being plain, has been divided into a foliating surface which gives a very pleasing effect to the general appearance of the monument. The *garbhagrha* is on the western side, and towards the north, south and east, the temple has porticoes. These porticoes are provided with beautiful and almost life-size female figure-brackets. They are arranged in pairs. They spring from the shoulders of the outer pillars of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and support the ponderous *Chajjā* slabs.

The Śiva temple at Pālāmpēṭ is famous on account of these *Madanikā* figure-brackets.³ They are the most beautiful products of the Kākatiya plastic

1 *Ramappa and other Temples at Palampet* (Hyderabad, 1953); p. 1 Dr. G. Yazdani says "Warangal, the metropolis of this dynasty, abounds in magnificent tanks, and the titanic dykes and sluiceways of Pakal, Lakshnavaram and Ramappa lakes are object lessons even to the modern engineer.

2 *Archaeological Memoir*; No. 6, p. 174.

3 In Tamil the word *Madanikā* means a lovely maid. *Archaeological Survey of Mysore*; 1931, p. 32. G. Yazdani observes: "Greece may rightly be proud of the sober dignity of the Caryatids of the Erechtheum, but as art must represent human thought and life in all its phases, the figure-brackets of Pālāmpēṭ occupy a distinct position among the Sculpture of their kind, showing elegance combined with a joyful mood" (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXIII, p. 684 ff.).

art. Each one of them is like a piece of love poem written on stone. They consist mostly of the images of young and beautiful ladies at dance. They are full of *rasa* and *bhāva* and fill the looker on with the beauty of a young woman's life. The poses, faces, hands and legs are highly expressive. The figures are in most graceful and charming positions while standing, singing and dancing. They are twelve in number. Apart from these female figure-brackets there are some animal brackets attached to the shoulders of the portico pillars and having elephant heads as pedestals. They represent tigers or *Vyālis* and carved with consummate craftsmanship.

The facile handwriting of the Kākatīya sculptors and their easy manipulation of the chisel, reached a climax of graceful fluency in shaping these *Madanikā* brackets. It seems as if the system employed in design and construction of these brackets was that of entrusting each example to one head-artist and his assistants, who combined as a team to produce their finest work. Set to compete against one another in such a way, each bracket became, therefore, an individual chief dœuvre. This finicky and often rococo manner is of-course obtained due to the malleability of the stone, viz., Chloritic-Schist. It is a very fine grained stone much more tractable to the chisel than sand-stone or granite. It has the added virtue of being soft to work when first quarried and turning to adamant hardness on exposure to air. These *Madanikā* brackets on account of their various forms, poses and above all their artistic merits, provide us an attractive subject for separate study. A brief description of these figure-brackets and their importance is being attempted in this paper commencing from the northern portico in clockwise.

Northern Portico :

1. *Kandukābhinaya* (Fig. No. 1)

A lady finely dressed and tastefully ornamented is in the midst of dance. Her right arm is raised above her head and holding a *Kanduka* like thing, perhaps made with flowers ; while the left hand is slightly bent with palm turned towards right near her breast in charming *cinmudrā* pose. In this pose the tips of the thumb and the lower finger are made to touch each other, so as to form a circle and the other fingers being kept open. The body of the figure is gracefully bent at the waist. The entire weight of the body is borne by the slightly bent left leg, while the right one is bent at the knee and lifted up with the toe raised. The resultant effect of this composition is that of depicting the dynamic spirit of the dancer.

Her body is bejewelled with various ornaments, viz., *pralambahāra*, *graivēyaka*, *pada-gharjarikā* and *pada-jāla-bhūṣaṇa*. She wears a beautiful *mēkhalā*, or waist-band, the tassels and hangings of which adorn her beautiful shape. Her thighs are decked with close fitting shorts secured by a muslin cloth,

the ends of which hang tastefully between her lower limbs. Her hair is stylized and on the space between the fore-head and the starting point of her hair there is a *bindī*-strand of pearls. The suggestion of movement, and the pulsating life, have been very well conveyed by her gestures.

II. *Dancing Lady*-- (Fig. No. 2)

A lady is standing in *dwibhaṅga* pose by poising her entire weight on the right leg while the left one is raised and bent at the knee. Her arms are lifted up above her head and expressing an emotion of excitement. The posture of the figure is one that is possible only for a practised atheletic dancer. Her supple waist and delicate neck are gracefully bent to the proper right. The half opened mouth suggests that the lady is singing. The vigorous drumming of the musicians represented at the bottom of the central figure suggest that she is also immersed in dancing. The combination of singing and dancing is admirably shown in this figure. The graceful folds on the stomach, the amazing expression in her fully opened eyes and the serpentine curves of the body are very attractive. This figure is a best example for the dynamic richness of expression and dance.

III. *Modesty and the Monkey*: (Fig. No. 3)

This is one of the best figure-brackets in the Śiva temple of Pālampēṭ. It is an admixture of humour and modesty. A beautiful lady is shown molested by an admiring monkey, who has pulled her dress off from her waist and is looking up at her grinning in solicitation. The lady whose shorts are seriously underssed has locked her legs in modesty. She is shown trying to cover her navel with her left hand which is very badly mutilated, while with the raised right hand she is attempting to drive away the monkey. The monkey is represented at the bottom and actively pulling the under-garment of the lady by holding its proper right end.

Her face is slightly oval in shape. She has a well formed nose, lips and chin, long and thin pencilled eye-brows and smooth fore-head. Her long hair is beautifully twisted and done up to a large knot behind her head. On the lobes of her ears, she wears a big and rounded ear-rings i.e., *tāṭaṅkas*, set perhaps with pearls. There is a long and heavy garland passing below her right arm in an *Yajñōpavīta* style. The whole composition is a pleasing figure of a tastefully ornamented beautiful young woman. The drapery is represented by emphatic horizontal folds. The head and the body below the waist are shown in profile.

This figure very closely resembles with the "Modesty and Monkey" and the "Beauty and Scorpion" styled *Madanikās* of the Chennakēśava temple at Bēlūr¹ and the "Celestial beauty" portrayed on a pillar at Kuḍumian.² The

¹ *Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore*; PL. XVI; *Archaeological Survey of Mysore*; 1931, PL. X, Fig. 2.

² Frederick Louis: *Indian Temple Sculpture*; PL. 229.

theme shown in all these figures is the same i.e., showing the full beauty of the feminine form. The sculptor imagined the episodes of a monkey, scorpion and erotic dwarfs to get a chance to succeed in his cherished ambition of showing the broad bust with fully developed breasts, the small and supple waist, the low belly, the large and rounded hips and finally the tapering limbs. This piece admirably combined the spirit of modesty with that of humour and beauty.

IV. *Abhinaya* (Fig. No. 4):

A lady is shown standing and giving an exhibition of the art of *abhinaya*. Her hands are raised above her head but very badly mutilated. Her slender waist is bent to right and the well proportionate upper body with fully developed breasts, inclined slightly towards left. Her fully opened eyes are looking lightly upwards. She is very elegantly ornamented with a necklet, necklaces, anklets and a beautiful three banded waist-band. There is a long and loose garland worn in an *Yajñōpavīta* style. On either side bottom of the central figure are shown drummers, drumming vigorously. This figure-bracket is marked by naturalism and equipoise.

Eastern Portico :

V. *Rati* (Fig. No. 5):

A lady is standing and facing to front in a cross-legged posture. She is wearing a very beautifully decorated and short *ardhōrūka*. She is holding an ornamental bow having horizontal banded decorations, perhaps made out of a bamboo reed. She is holding an arrow in between the fingers of her proper right hand. Her head is adorned with a crown. A male attendant figure is shown seated on the left bottom of the central figure and he is trying to remove, probably, a thorn from the raised left foot of the central figure which is resting on the right knee of the attendant figure. This figure may be identified as *Rati* the consort of *Kāma*—the God of love. She is wearing *ratnāṅgulīyakas*, *tāṭaṅkas*, *mēkhalā* etc. The whole composition is canopied by a *latā-tōraṇa*. This is the most exquisitely carved filigree work, showing the circles and curls formed by the creeper. The representation of a bird and a monkey in the midst of the filigree work immensely animated the whole composition.

VI *Nrtya* (Fig. No. 6):

A lady is standing in *bhujagatrāsa* pose, poising her weight on her left leg while the right one is raised and folded. The theme is similar to that of Fig. No. 1, but with slight variations. Her proper right hand is raised above the head with the palm turned downwards, while the left one is gathered in between her breast and waist. Both are in *saṅdarśanamudrā*. Her hair is tied with a muslin cloth whose front border is decorated with a string of pearls. A beautiful diamond shaped pearl pendant is hanging tastefully on the centre of her fore-

head and in between the eye-brows. The eyes, eye-lids and eye-brows are characterised by great precision of detail and aristocratic delicacy.

VII. *Lady and the Tree* (Fig. No. 7):—

A lady is standing in *vyayastapāda* posture with her weight centering on the left leg. The right leg is shown behind the left one and it is slightly raised and bent at the knee. On the left bottom of the central figure a monkey is shown standing and trying to pull her garment by holding its lower part. She is holding a branch of a tree on her upraised right hand and attempting to drive away the monkey, while with her left hand she grips firmly her lower garment. The lower part of the garment is passing in between the thighs towards the left whereas the upper part is wrapped round the loins in two courses and partly covering the left breast in *Upavīta* or *Vaikakṣaka* style. The decorative designs employed to embellish the garment and the high-heeled-shoes used for the decoration of this *Madanikā* figure-bracket through some welcome light on the dress styles of the Age of the Kākatīyas.¹

VIII. *Nāgini* (Fig. No. 8):

A lady is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose without any sign of lower or upper garments but exposing herself entirely to nature. She is standing on the coils of a serpent, the hood of which is very well depicted in between her feet. Her waist and bust are slightly tapering toward left and right respectively. She is ornamented with a pair of ear-rings, three-stringed necklace, bangles, anklets etc. Two drummers are represented on either side of her legs. She is holding a serpent in her upraised hands, and one or more round her neck, arms and body as if she had clasped them with ecstatic frenzy in her mood of exultant joy. The serpent held by her delicate fingers has a large hood. It is shown on the left side and slightly above her right hand. Her legs are gracefully extended at full length. Her lips are neither thin or skinny. Her eyes are half-closed and it appears that she has been steeped in beautiful amorous rapture.

Southern Portico :

IX. *Lady and the Bow* :—

An young lady is shown standing in cross-legged posture and holding a bow in her left hand. This is the only *Madanikā* figure-bracket in the whole group, where the hair is depicted in the form of snail-shell curls. She is canopied by an exquisitely carved *latā-tōraṇa*.

X. *Dancer* :—

A lady is depicted in the midst of a dance. Her right hand is raised above her head and is in *abhayamudrā* whereas the left one is in *simha-karṇa-mudrā*

1 The pearl studded tunic worn by this figure and a similar *ardhōrūka* worn by Ratt appear to be a costly kind of textile. Prof. V. S. Agarwal identified this type of cloth with the "*Sthavaraka*" cloth mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. *Ancient India*; Vol. 4, p. 179, of *Harṣacarita*; pp. 143, 207.

XI. *Dancer* :—

The theme of this figure-bracket closely resembles with that of Fig. No. 2. The only interesting feature of this figure is that the fore-head of the dancer is decorated with a beautiful *catula*, bedecked with precious stones,

XII. *Lady Drummer* (Fig. No. 9) :—

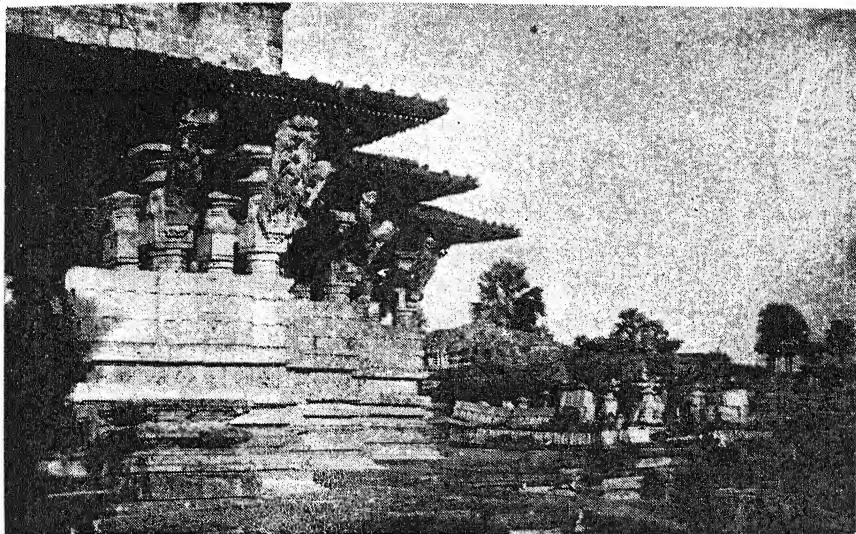
A lady is shown playing on a well decorated *mṛdaṅga*. She is in *atibhaṅga* posture. She is beating the *mṛdaṅga* with the right hand and the left one is resting on the drum itself. Her head is slightly raised upwards. The ornament worn on the partitioning of the hair and just above her fore-head is very interesting. A pair of female musicians are represented on either side bottom of the central figure and playing on a *mṛdaṅga* and flute respectively. On the facing side of the bracket pedestal is also carved a dancing panel. The central figure of the panel is a female, dancing very actively. She is holding a pair of short and smooth sticks in her hands. The attendant figures that are shown on either side of the above-mentioned female dancer are playing on a flute or harp. This dance may be identified as *Kōlāṭam* dance—a very popular dance during the Age of the Kākatīyas of Warangal and the Vijayanagar period.

The *Madanikās* of Pālampēṭ represent the zenith of the creative monumental stone sculpture of Deccan. All of them are characterised by incredible detail and finish. The figures with long, delicate and thin nails are exceptionally excellent. Shri Gulam Yazdani says : “They are mere ornaments having no architectural purpose and represent the intermediate stage between their earlier analogues at Sanchi and later examples at Vijayanagar”.¹ This is not acceptable, for the very position and the size of the *Madanikās*, tempt us to state that they are not only ornamental appendages but also architectural additions of the building. A brief survey of the origin and evolution of the figure-brackets may give us an idea to know their purpose and importance in the temple architecture.

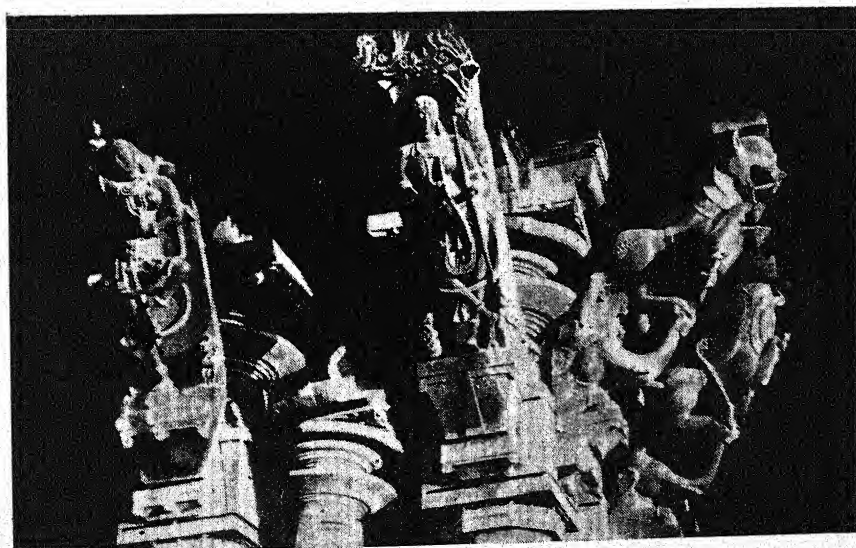
The earliest extant example of architecture in the history of Indian Architecture are the caves, hewn out of the living rock by means of prick, and finished off by the dexterous application of the chisel. The figure-brackets were used even in the early centuries of the Christian era. The standing testimonial for this is the Gaṇeśa Gumphā Cave. In this cave, the brackets are arranged on the shoulders of the pillars which support the ceiling of the Verandah.² These are mere ornaments, nominally supporting the superstructure of the Verandah, for the verandah and the pillars are hewn out of a monolithic block of rock. In this case the brackets are introduced only with the intention of enhancing the elegance of the pillars and to maintain balance between architecture and art.

1 *Archaeological Memoir*; No. 6, p. 176.

2 Zimmer H.: *The Art of Indian Asia*; Vol. II, PL. 49.



Position of the Madanikās



Arrangement of the Madanikās

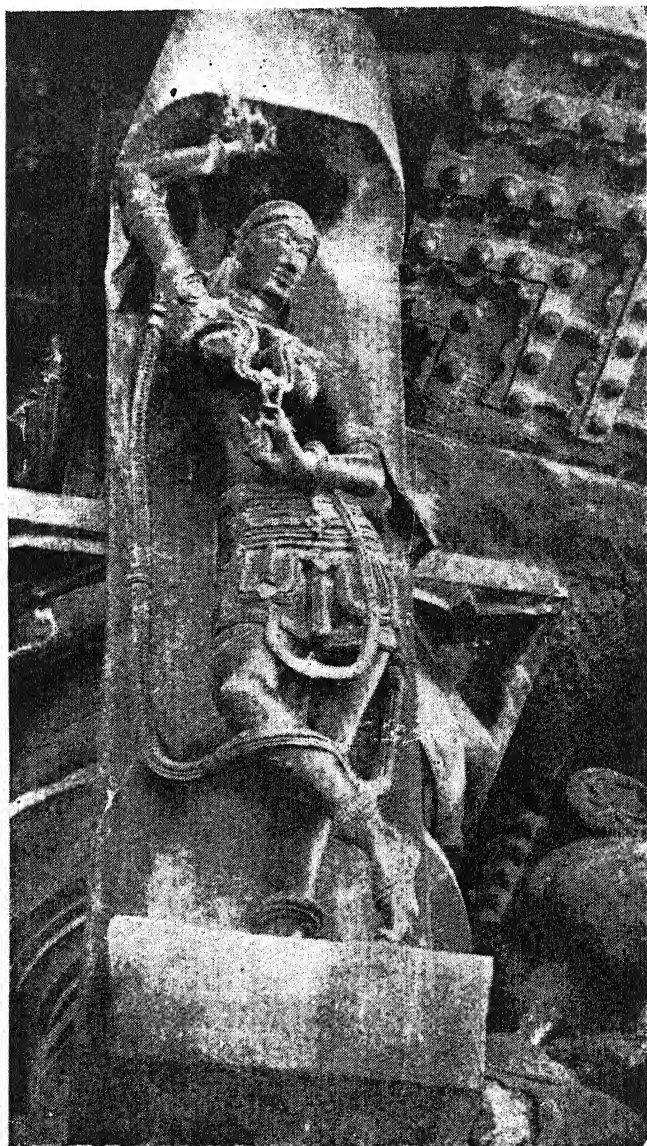


Fig. 1
Kandukābhinaya



Fig. 3
Modesty and the Monkey

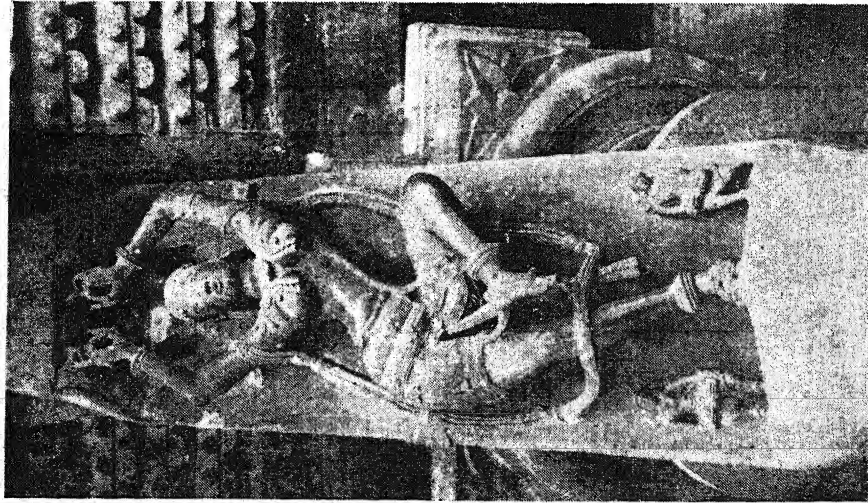


Fig. 2
Dancing Lady

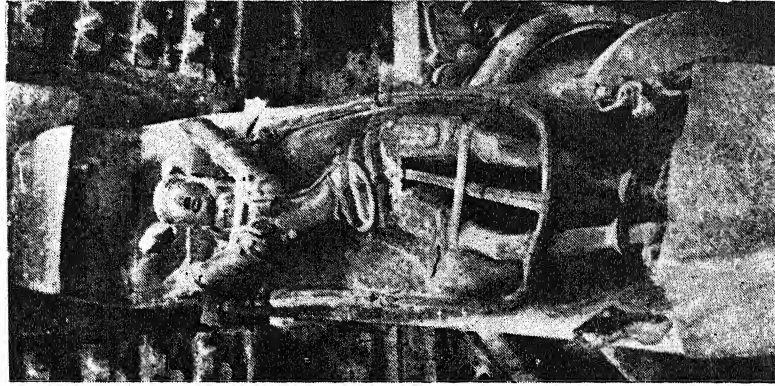


Fig. 4
Abhinaya

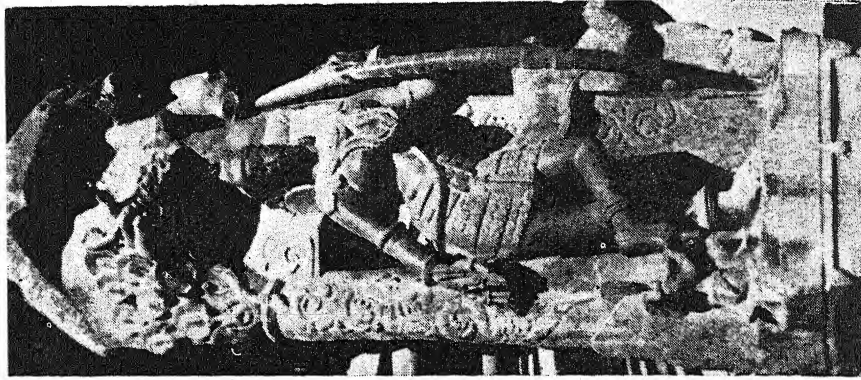


Fig. 5
Rati

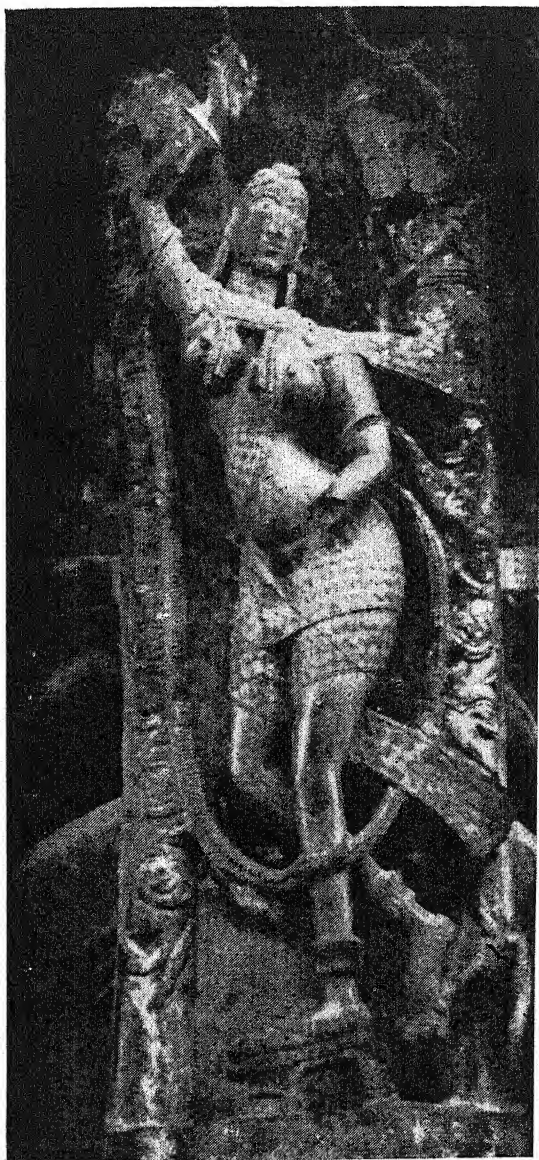


Fig. 7
Lady and the Tree

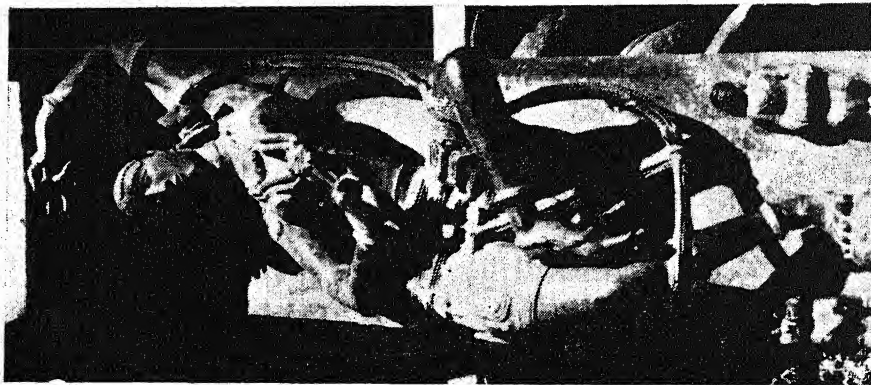


Fig. 6
Nṛtya

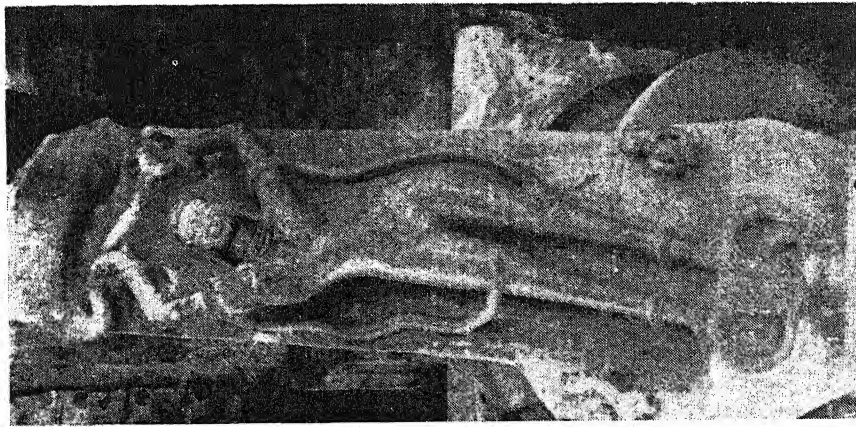


Fig. 8
Nāgini

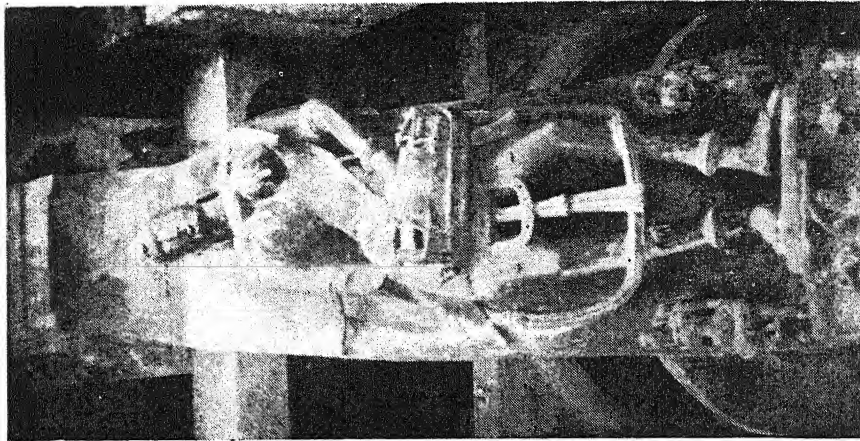


Fig. 9
Lady Drummer

The next stage in the evolution of the figure-brackets may be noticed on the Northern and Eastern Gateways of the Stupa at Sanchi. Marshall states that the female bracket-figures supporting the extremities of the lowest architrave are the most finest and instructive sculptures of the Sanchi gateways.¹ These caryatid figures or *śālabhañjikās* represent fairy spirits or *Yakṣīs*, who played probably the part of the guardians, are portrayed in the Orthodox attitude of holding the branch of a tree. Similar fairies of similar proportions stood on the architraves immediately above them; with lions or elephants set on the volutes at their sides.² They undoubtedly serve as ornamental and architectural members of these gateways, for the very style and technique employed for the construction of these gateways itself supply ample proof to prove it. The total height of these gateways is 34 feet with a width of 20 feet at the broadest part. When it is understood that the thickness of the whole average is only 2 feet, and that it stands alone without any sturts or similar supports, it is a matter for astonishment that any of these gateways should have remained in position for two thousand years. They are definitely top-heavy, as a result of that there must be naturally some support on the lower and middle portions of the *tōraṇa* architraves, to distribute its weight equally and to protect it from decay. Taking the imperative need of these things into account, the architect introduced supports in the form of *śālabhañjikās*. The deftness of the sculptor has been very well brought out by the harmonious blending of architecture with sculpture in these dryads. Marshall aptly remarked that "these figures are not merely architectural members nor are they, as was thought, representations of dancing girls without any religious significance".³

The figure-brackets were also used in the caves excavated in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The caves No. I and III at Bādāmī are the best examples to illustrate this point. The cave No. III (580 A.D.) is the finest of the series and in some respects one of the most interesting Brāhmanical works in India. The Verandah of this cave is supported by six pillars. Each pillar has three brackets. All the brackets, with one exception, represent male and female figures in different attitudes.⁴ The pillars supporting the verandah of the Rāmēśvara cave at Ellōrā are also adorned with figure-brackets. A. K. Coomara-

1 Marshall: *Monuments of Sanchi*; p. 129.

2 Zimmer H.: *Op.cit.* Vol. II, PL. 12 and 15.

3 Marshall: *Op.cit.*; p. 129.

4 Banerji R. D.: *Bas-reliefs of Badami*; PL. XIX & XX.

C. Sivaramamurthy states: "The bracket figures on the pillars in the Badami caves are precursors of similar lovely ones in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa caves at Ellōrā, the later Cālukyan ones at Kūruvaṭṭi and other places; the Hōyaśāla ones at Hālebid, Bē'ūr etc., the Eastern Cālukyan ones as at Drākṣārāma and the Kākatiya ones as at Warangal, Pālampēṭ and other places" *Eastern Cālukyan Sculpture* p. 20.

swamy says : " The Rāmēśvara verandah is adorned with massive pillars with pot and foliage capitals, and magnificently decorated with figure-brackets of *Dēvatās* or *Vṛkṣakas*, accompanied by dwarfs, under mango trees in full front".¹

The *Madanikās* occupy a position of paramount importance and interest in the temple architecture. They are generally placed under the eaves and inside the domes or ceilings. The best examples are the Cennakēśava temple at Bēlūr², Hoyśālēśvara temple at Hālebid,³ Mallikārjuna temple at Kūruvaṭṭi,⁴ Kēśava temple at Huvinahadgalli,⁵ Siddhānta temple at Nēmār,⁶ Śiva temple at Dighi,⁷ Bhavānī temple at Tāhakāri⁸, Nēminātha temple at Gīrnār,⁹ Vimalashah temple at Mt. Abu,¹⁰ Śiva temple at Ghanpūr etc.

The Cennakēśava temple at Bēlūr has in all 42 *Madanikās* of which four of them adorned the central pillars supporting the ceiling of the *Navaraṅga* and the rest of them are placed below the eaves of the *Navaraṅga*. They consist mostly of the images of beautiful ladies either at toilet or at dance. In size and style the *Madanikās* which adorned the central ceiling of the *Navaraṅga* are very much similar to that of the figure-brackets placed under the projected cornice of the *Navaraṅga*. But in conception and execution the *Madanikās* of the central ceiling are very fine and occupy a very unique position in the imaginative art of the later Cālukyan period. It looks as if the best four of the whole group of bracket-images are selected and placed under the highly ornamented central ceiling of the *Navaraṅga*.

The *Madanikās* are also employed, sometimes, to decorate the door-jambs and the exterior wall niches of a temple. The front and inner sides of the capital of the pilaster, attached to the door-jamb carvings of the outside entrance of the *maṇḍapa* of the Mallikārjuna temple at Kūruvaṭṭi, are decorated with finely carved female figure-brackets and canopied with encircling wreaths. This feature is unusual and seldom noticed in any of the Cālukyan temples sprinkled throughout the length and breadth of the Kanarese districts. The niches, on the exterior walls of the Kēśava temple at Huvinahadgalli are provided with beautiful female figure-brackets.

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- 1 Coomaraswamy A. K.: *The History of Indian and Indonesian Art*; Vol. I; p. 97.
 - 2 *Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore*; PL. XVI.
 - 3 Frederick Louis: *Indian Temple Sculpture*; PL. 319.
 - 4 Rea Alexer: *Chālukyan Architecture*; PL. LX & LXVII.
 - 5 *Ibid.* PL. XCIX.
 - 6 *Archaeological Survey of India W. Circle*; 1921, pp. 98ff. PL. XXVII. Fig. b.
 - 7 *Ibid.*, 1920. pp. 75ff, PL. VII.
 - 8 Cousins H. C.: *Mediaeval Temples of Deccan*; PL. LXXV.
 - 9 Zimmer H.: *Op.cit.*; Vol. II. p. 392.
 - 10 Brown P.: *Indian Architecture*; PL. CX; Munshi K. M.: *Saga of Indian Sculpture*; Figs. 176 177; Shah K. T.: *The Splendour That was India*, (Bombay, 1930) p. 158.

The use of the *Madanikās* inside the trabeate dome is noticed in the Siddhānta temple at Nēmār, Śiva temple at Digghi, Vimalashah temple at Mt. Abu, etc. The Siddhānta temple stands on the right bank of the river Narmadā. The trabeate dome of the *maṇḍapa* which is an elongated one and covered with rows of lotus petals and pendentives, is decorated with sixteen stone brackets representing female figures. The sixteen sided ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* of the Śiva temple at Digghi is decked with female figure-brackets and placed equidistant from each other. This temple has figure-brackets both in the ceilings of the *maṇḍapa* and portico. There are eight dancing figure-brackets in the *maṇḍapa* ceiling and six in the ceiling of the portico. The pedestals of these brackets are decorated with swatting *gaṇas* in different postures. Similar brackets are also used in the great domes of the *maṇḍapas* of the Vastupāla Tējapāla temple at Gīrnār and the Vimalashah temple at Mt. Abu. These temples are dedicated to the Jaina *Tirthaṅkaras* and famous for their remarkable technical finish. The ceiling of the Vimalashah temple is decorated with circular motifs divided into segments by female figure-brackets viz., *Vidyādēvīs*, arranged like the spoke of a wheel. They are standing on pedestals decorated with *bhūta* figures.

The Goṇḍēśvara temple at Sinnar¹ gives us some interesting piece of information in this connection. It has a detached *Nandī* pavilion. On the exterior of the pavilion, just below the eaves and attached to the shoulders of the pillars are placed female figure-brackets. This shows that the *Madanikās* were employed in the mediaeval temple architecture to decorate the detached *maṇḍapas* and pavilions.

In the Vijayanagar monuments, where according to Louis Frederick, "the art is beginning to crystallise into a formalism which is no longer religious but dynastic before starting to degenerate," we can notice the perpetuation of figure-brackets. The pillar caryatids, whether rearing lions or *Vyālīs* (*Gajasimhas*) are the products of wild phantasy. At the end of the sixteenth century rearing horses are also provided with fighting riders and groups of soldiers below, are also used as brackets. These are especially a feature of the Madhurā style.² Benjamin Rowland records, "these gigantic pillars flowering into immense brackets and entablatures were described by the Portuguese Domingo Paes, as 'Romanesque' and so well executed that they appear as if made in Italy."³ Similar brackets are profusely used in the buildings of the Nāyakas of Tānjore.

We have discussed so far the origin and evolution of the figure-brackets in general and that of the *Madanikās* in particular by taking into account various

1 Cousens H.: *Op.cit.*, PL. XLV & XLVIII.

2 Coomarswamy A. K.: *Op.cit.*; Vol. 1, p. 124, Fig. No. 240.

3 Rowland Benjamin: *The Art and Architecture of India*; p. 181.

caves and temples, distributed throughout the length and breadth of India. We may now find out the peculiarities of the Pālaṃpēṭ *Madanikās* by comparing them with the *Madanikās* of Bēlūr, Hālebid, Kūruvaṭṭi, Dighi, Gīrnār, Dilāwara etc.

I. *Size* :—The *Madanikās* of the temples that are distributed in the Kanarese districts are generally smaller in size. For instance, the figure-brackets of the Cennakēśava temple at Bēlūr are 2'6" in height. But the Pālaṃpēṭ *Madanikās* are in life size. The very size of the *Madanikās* and the length of the projected cornice of the *Mahāmaṇḍapa* undoubtedly suggest that the Pālaṃpēṭ female figure-brackets are not only ornamental appendages enhancing the elegance of the building but also serving as architectural additions giving architecture compatability and stability to the structure.

II. *Ornamentation* :—These figures, no doubt, are characterised by the artist's phenomenal concentration, superb technical skill, ingenuity and imagination. But the exaggerated tendencies toward elaboration and ornamentation which played a paramount part in the Hoysāla Art are surprisingly suspended in the Kākatīya Art. In the Pālaṃpēṭ *Madanikās*, the sense of plastic conception and virtuosity of carving are maintained in perfect equilibrium.¹

III. *Position* : In the temples of Pālaṃpēṭ and Ghanpūr, the *Madanikās* are arranged in pairs directly under the massive eaves and springing from the shoulders of the outer pillars of the *Navaraṅga*. But at Hālebid, Dighi, Tāhakari, Gīrnār and Mt. Abu, they are placed under the exquisitely carved central ceilings of the *Mahāmaṇḍapas* and *Mukhamaṇḍapas*. In the Chennakēśava temple at Bēlūr, the *Madanikās* are arranged in the same style as that of Pālaṃpēṭ and Ghanpūr. But the former differ considerably from the later in number and size. There are 42 *Madanikās* in the Chennakēśava temple at Bēlūr but the Śiva temple at Pālaṃpēṭ has only 12 female figure-brackets

IV. *Signature* : The pedestals of the *Madanikās* figure-brackets in the Hoysāla temples are generally inscribed with the signature of the sculptor who was responsible for its creation (Ex. the Chennakēśava temple at Bēlūr). There are no such sculptor's signatures either on the pedestals or on any part of the *Madanikās* under our study.

1 C. Sivaramamurthy states: "The fine pillars in the Kākatīya temples almost glisten with polish and appear as if made of horn and turned on the lathe.....The bracket figures from the pillars in various interesting dance poses recall similar figures in the Cālukyan temples like those from Kūruvaṭṭe and in the Hoysāla temples as from Bēlūr and Hālebid. There (Kākatīya temples) bracket figures are somewhat elongated and not so profusely loaded with ornament like the Hōysāla ones which are a little more stumpy and short" (*Indian Sculpture*) (New Delhi. 1961); p. 126.

V. *Pedestals* : The pedestals of the female figure-brackets at Dighi, Gīrnār, Kūruvaṭṭi, Huvinahadgalli and Mt. Abu are decorated with *bhūta* or *gaṇa* figures. But the pedestals of the Pālampēṭ *Madanikās* are devoid of such figures except in one case where a dancing panel has been carved. Mention may be made in this connection that the pedestals of the brackets at Bēlūr, Hālebid, Kūruvaṭṭi and Huvinahadgalli are dish-like in shape whereas at Pālampēṭ and Ghanpūr they are square in shape.

VI. *Composition* : The Pālampēṭ *Madanikās* are provided with, at their back, a long and narrow slab of stone which gives additional architectural support to the figures. This is conspicuously absent at Bēlūr, Hālebid, Kūruvaṭṭi, Huvinahadgalli etc.

VII. *Decorative Motifs* : The theme of the *Madanikās* under our study is profusely used and reproduced as an ornamental motif to decorate the exterior walls of the sanctuary, door-jambs and pillars. The *Nāginī* (Fig. No. 8) bracket is reproduced as a decorative design on the exterior wall of the Gautamēśvara temple at Manthane and on the bottom of the *śukanāsī* door-way of the main temple at Ghanpūr. Similarly the "Modesty and the Monkey" (Fig. No. 3) is represented on the *adhiṣṭāna* of one of the central pillars of the Thousand Pillared Temple at Hananikoṇḍa and on the base of the antechamber door-way pilaster of the Śomēśvara temple at Pillalamarṭṭi.

It may not be out of place, to state here, some of the characteristics of the Kākatīya art as revealed by these female figure-brackets. The *Madanikās* of Pālampēṭ are the most significant and instructive examples for a study of the Kākatīya art.

The co-ordination between the out-line and the modelled surface is the touch-stone of the Kākatīya art. This is very well represented in these *Madanikās*. The fluid rendering of the volume and the serpentine curves of the body endow these figures with an animation, dynamic as well as compact. All are carved in high-relief, deeply under cut and most proportionately ornamented.

The *Madanikās* of Pālampēṭ are free from unnecessary details. Only the most indispensable and essential elements are being retained to convey the full import of the figures depicted. Instead of being scrupulously exhaustive as that of Mysore, the Kākatīya version is more suggestive and aesthetically more appealing. This abbreviated form of representation results in less crowded composition in which the figures move freely with great ease and clarity.

The idea of the exuberance of youth with unfretted devotion and emotion is very well brought out in the *Madanikā* of *Nāginī* (Fig. No. 8), which represents a nude study of woman. Impetuous joie-de-vivre is conveyed in the treatment of the legs, which are gracefully extended at full length. There is a

delightful swaying in the line of the body between the chest and the hips which enhances the emotional tone of the sculpture. The artist to give mythical significance to the figure, has placed a serpent in her hands as if she clasped it with ecstatic frenzy in her mood of exultant joy. The fully rounded breasts nestling close together, and extremely narrow waist are pleasingly modelled, and yet in this *Nāginī* the earlier abstractness of a mere hieroglyph indicating fertility and maternity has been overcome.

The *Madanikās* of Pālaṃpēṭ are the most delightful specimens of the Kākatīya conception of feminine beauty. In the Hindu poetry and in the sacred writings, we find feminine beauty celebrated with tiring monotony and in endless repetitions, but never with any hint of such an ideal as we see in the Pālaṃpēṭ *Madanikās*. The usual Indian description of a beautiful woman is like the following, chosen at random from a religious text celebrating the charms of Rādha, Kṛṣṇa's chief mistress when he was a youth among the cowherds. "She possesses solid breasts, great buttocks, a narrow waist. She is bending with the very weight of her buttocks, solid loins and elevated breasts. Her nose puts to shame the beak of the prince of birds."¹ Of all the above attributes, the Pālaṃpēṭ *Madanikas* exhibit only narrow waist and straight nose. The others have been replaced practically by their opposites. Every detail of these *Madanikās* bespeaks realistic juvenile charm suffused with grace. The robust beauty and implied richness of animal life-force have been completely discarded. Nor do we feel any sense of the great weight and eloquence of the rock. In the sensitiveness of the rendering of the lively flesh, in the treatment of the hair, of the drapery and of the ornaments and lastly in its graceful stance, we have here a female beauty, urban, sophisticated and classical in its idea and content. The full blooded sensuality of the firm breasts, contrasts dramatically with the slim waist. The smooth and resilient flesh, seemingly pleasurable to touch, lends sensuous effect to the figures. A new virtuosity has been attained in the rendition of the feminine form in all sorts of sensuous, voluptuous and ecstatic postures.

The 'lady and the tree' is one of the most frequent decorative motifs represented in the Kākatīya Art. It is known as a *dchada* motif.² This is a symbolism that goes back to a period in Indian History, when youths and maidens gathered the flowers of a *śāla* tree. Although the exact and the original meaning of the motif is not known, there are many Indian legends relating the power of a woman or *Yakṣī* to bring trees into immediate flowering by embracing the trunk or touching it with their feet. Aśvaghōṣa in his *Buddhacarita* (IV. 35) describes women who 'leaned, holding a mango bough in full flower, displaying their bosoms like golden Jars.' Benjman Rowland states "These figures are survivals of earlier nature cults which had been accepted by Buddhism and which

1 *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*; adhyāya 124.

2 Tawney C. H. and Penzer N. M.: *The Ocean Story*; Vol. 1, pp. 219ff.

nothing would eradicate from the popular mind.”¹ E. B. Havell record : “A pretty animistic conceit, which affords a favourite motif for Indian poets, dramatists and artists is that which makes the Aśōka tree burst into flower when touched by the foot of a beautiful woman.”² The best and one of the earliest examples of the *dōhada* motif in the Indian Art are the *Śālabhañjikās* of Sanchi. These are supported by a mango bough enclosed as a spandrel between the upright and the lowest architrave. It is a drastic and dramatically effective adoption of the ‘lady and the tree’ motif which we can also notice at Barhūt. In the later South Indian sculpture a very similar motif is common, called by modern temple craftsmen as “the girl with the creeper falling over her.” At Pālāmpet this motif is represented in three bracket figures (Fig. Nos. 5, 7). If we can look at the foliage which canopies these figures we can all hear the relentless pounding of the patiently labouring artist’s chisel, carving leaf after leaf and each minute detail with devotion celestial. Here, like Sanchi, the young women are not pressing the trunk of the tree with their feet. They are, on the other hand, holding bows; but in one instance it is shown that a lady is holding a branch of a tree, not to fulfill the conventional idea of *dōhada*, but to drive away the monkey which is trying to strip off her garment. So in spirit the traditional ‘lady and the tree’ motif is completely discarded and replaced by maidens in active dance postures. A. K. Coomaraswamy rightly observes: “The bracket-figures of many temples afford typical examples; they reproduce the ancient motif woman-and-tree; they are unmistakable descendants of the oldest Kuṣāṇa and Pre-Kuṣāṇa forms, with the dwarf bearer now detached to form an abacus support below the main figure. This intention is sensuous, but the treatment is winy, and lacks the true volupé of Sanchi dryads. An example at Nārāyaṇapūra is nude. At Pālāmpet the tree-women are replaced by danseuses or *apsarasas* in technical dance poses, in one case nude.”³

The Kākatīya Art attained its height of expression in the Pālāmpet *Madanikās*. The powerful emotions of the human heart, its joy and sorrows, ecstasy of enjoyment and experience, passionate outbursts and tender moods, triumphant elation and powerful depression, intense devotion and religious fervour, kindly solicitude and sundry other sentiments, both noble and ignoble, find appropriate expression in the hands of the Kākatīya sculptor.

1 Rowland Benjman: *Op.cit.*

2 Havell E. B.: *The Ideals of Indian Art*; p. 100.

3 Coomaraswamy A. K.: *Op. cit.*; Vol. 1, p. 118.

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By

P. H. JOSHI, Baroda

*AARP 4 (Art and Archaeology Research Papers), 53, Hobland Path Mews,
London, W. 11.*

No. 4, Dec. 1974

Digby, Simon: The Bhugola of Kṣema Karṇa—A Dated Sixteenth Century
Piece of Indian Metalware

Maxwell, Thomas S.: Transformational Aspects of Hindu Myth and Icono-
logy—Viśvarūpa

Michell, George : The Regents of the Directions of Space—A Set of
Sculptural Panels from Alampur

*Acta Orientalia, Academiae Scientiarum, Hungariae, Akademiai Kiado, Buda-
pest, Postafiók 24*

Tomus XXVII, Fas. 1, 1973

Sarkozi, Alice : Toyin Guisi's Mongol Vajracchedikā

Bethlenfalvy, G. : The Pañcatantra in Hungary

Anusandhāna Patrikā, Jaina Vishwa Bharati, Ladanū

Praveśāṅka, January-March, 73

Kanakaprabhaji : Upaniṣadom para Śramaṇa Samskr̥ti kā Prabhāva
(Hindi)

Bhujabali, K. : Ajitasena kā 'Alaṅkāra Cintāmaṇi' aura Uskā Racanā-
kāla (Hindi)

Ramapurīa, Srichandra : Vṛṣala aura Vṛṣalī Kauna? (Hindi)

Jaina, Harischandra : Jainācāryom̐ kī Āyurveda-Sevā (Hindi)

Sangoṣṭhi Aṅka, Oct.-Dec. 73

Sadhvi Sri Kanakakumari : Jaīna Darśana meṁ Śakunavicāra (Hindi)

Jain, Kusum : Prākṛta Kathā-kāvyom̐ kī Bhāṣā evam Śilpa (Hindi)

Jain, Ramachandra : Ṛgveda kī Aśramaṇa R̥k (Hindi)

Yadav, Jhinaku : Haribhadrasūrikālīna Bhāratīya Nāri kā Jivana (Hindi)

Tiwari, Chandradev : Alaṅkāra Granthom̐ meṁ Uddhṛta Prākṛta Gāthāo
meṁ Citrita Grāmaṇa Jivana (Hindi)

Jain, Prem Suman : Prākṛta Sāhityameṁ Śilpa-Vijñāna (Hindi)

Jain, L. C. : Mathematical Foundations of Karma Quantum System Theory

Artibus Asiae, (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University), Ascona, Switzerland

Vol. XXXV, Nos. 1/2

Slusser, Mary Shepherd and Vajrācārya Gautamavajra : Some Nepalese Stone Sculptures—A Reappraisal with their Cultural and Historical Context

Mankodi, Kirit : Gaṅgā Tripathagā

Asiatische Studien Etudes Asiatiques, Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde, Revue de la Société Suisse d'Etudes Asiatiques, Francke, Verlag, Bern

Vol. XXVII, No. 2, 1973

Hara, Minoru : The King as a Husband of the Earth (Mahi-pati)

De Jong, J. W. : The Discovery of India by the Greeks

Bhāratiya Itihāsa āṇi Saṁskṛti, Itihāsa Samshodhana Mandala, Mumbai Marathi Grantha-Samgrahālaya, 172 Nayagaon Cross Road, Dadar, Bombay-14

Vol. 10, No. 39, Oct. 73

Dev, Prabhakar : Hoṭṭala Yethīla Śivālaya--Cālukyākālīna Avaśeṣa (Marathi)

Bhāratiya Sāhitya, K. M. Institute of Hindi Studies and Linguistics, Agra University, Agra

Vol. 16, Nos. 1-2, Jan.-April 1971

Yadav, Harinarayana : Hindī meṁ Āgatā Saṁskṛta Sandhi Niyama (Hindi)

Bulletin of the Chhuni Lal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Sarvajanic Education Society, Surat

Nos. 16-17, August 1971-72

Betai, R. S. : The Criminal Offences in Ancient India

Dave, P. T. : Pitṛ-Worship in Vedic Literature Compared with that of the Other Religions

Sharma, Ram Dutta : The Arms and Weapons described in Jaiवंश Epic

Jhala, G. C. : An Echo of a Buddhist Practice in Rāmāyaṇa IV.6.4

Rawal, A. J. : Religion and Philosophy as in the Brahṁavāivartapurāṇa

Sompura, Kantilal F. : Architectural Treatment of Hathisimha's Temple, Ahmedabad

Vyas, K. B. : Śabdonā Ādānapradāna ane aeno Sāṁskṛtika Sandarbha (Gujarati)

Bulletin of the Institute of History of Medicine, Central Council for Research in Indian Medicine & Homoeopathy, Hyderabad

Vol. III, No. 4, Oct. 1973.

Rama Rao, B. : Abhidhānaratnamālā (A work with a new classification of Dravyas)

Palanichamy, K. : Tamil Medical Manuscripts in Oriental Research Institute, S. V. University, Tirupati

Subba Reddy, D. V. : History of Siddha Medicine—Need for Further Detailed Study

Subba Reddy, D. V. : Glimpses of Medicine in Rājatarāṅgiṇī

Pasha, M. Azeez : Yusrul Ilaj (A Persian Medical MS. compiled in India by Hakeem Hidaetullah in 1731 A.D.)

Bulletin of the Oriental and African Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London W. C. I., England

Vol. XXXVI, Part 2, 1973

Brough, John : I-ching on the Sanskrit Grammarians

Lamotte, É. : Trois Sūtra dn Saṃyukta sur la Vacuité

Snellgrove, David L. : Śākyamuni's Final Nirvāṇa

Turner, R. L. : Pāli 'Phāsu' and 'Dātta'

Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India

No. 12, 1973

Moti Chandra : Studies in the Cult of the Mother Goddess in Ancient India

Kala, S. C. : Some Interesting Objects in the Allahabad Museum

Andhare, Shridhar : An Early Rāgamālā from the Kānkrolī Collection

Gorakshkar, Sadashiv ; An Inscribed Image of Hayagrīva. —rTa mgrin— from Tibet in the Prince of Wales Museum

Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Gol Park, Calcutta

Vol. XXIV, No. 8, August 1973

Chakravarti, Kshitish Chandra : The Vedāntic Concept of Ignorance

Chatterji, Pritibhushan ; The Existential Approach to Philosophy

Epigraphia Indica, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi-1

Vol. XXXVIII, Part 3, July 1969

Gai, G. S. : Sakrepatna Plates of Pallava Simhavarman, year 41

Sharma, Rama : Two Inscriptions of Ajayapaladeva

Nagaraja, S. : Nimbarga Inscription of Chalukya Bhulokamalla, Saka 1057

History of Religions, An International Journal for Comparative Historical Studies,
Swift Halls, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois 6063

Vol. 13, No. 2, Nov. 1973

LaFleur, William R. : Saigyō and the Buddhist Value of Nature, Part I

Indian Museum Bulletin, Indian Museum, Calcutta-13

Vol. V, No. 2, July 1970

Banerji, N. R. : Abichchhatra—an Account of Recent Exploration

Dutta, B. C. : The Ancient Culture found at Yokyerdanga, West Bengal

Tripathi, R. R. : Kārttikeya Images in Allahabad Museum

Nandi, Sipra : A Scroll Painting on the Story of Kamalākāminī or Dhana-
pati-Śrīpati-Kāhinī in the Indian Museum

Basu, S. P. : The Concept of Brahmā and His Images

Gupta, Kamalakanta : The Nārwar Copper-plates of Amoghavarshadeva
alias Vākpatirājadeva

Indo-Iranian Journal, Mouton Publishers, P.O, Box 482, Hague 2076, Netherlands

Vol. XV, No. 2, 1973

Burrow, T. : Sanskrit Pā 'Go, Move, Pass, Traverse'

Indological Studies, Journal of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi,
Delhi

Vol. II, No. 1, August 1973

Bhattacharya, Biswanath : A Proposed Emendation in the Tibetan Transla-
tion of Aśvaghōṣa's Buddhacarita 10/15

Varma, Mrs. A. : The Identity of Vṛtra

Kantawala, S. G. : Purāṇic Etymologies (on the Vocabular Purāṇa)

Gupta, Mrs. Kanta : Niyoga in Ancient India

Bhatnagar, Miss Veena : Double Sandhi in Epic Sanskrit

Satya Vrat, Mrs. Usha ; The Lilāvilāsa Prahāsana—A Study

Mitra, Jyotir : The Bhela-Saṁhitā—A Study in Un-Pāṇinian Forms and
other Anomalies

Rana, S. S. : The History of the word Devānāmpriya and a Fresh Investi-
gation into Its Meaning

Sobati, Amarajit : Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa kā Utpattivāda athavā Aropavāda—
Eka Dārśanika Adhyayana (Hindi)

Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Gujarat Research Society, Samshodhan
Sadan, South Avenue, Khar, Bombay-52

Vol. XXXV, No. 4(140) October 1973

Tiwari, M. N. : Iconography of the Images of Sambhavanātha at Khajuraho

Amin, J. P. : Gujarātānī Mukhya Śaiva Devī Pratimāo (Gujarati)

Journal of the Indian Musicological Society, Indian Musicological Society, Jambhu Bet, Dandia Bazzar, Baroda

Vol. 4, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1973

Jairazbhoy, Nazir A. : A Possible Basis of Bharata's Melodic System

Shastri, K. Vasudeva : Dance in Sanskrit Literature

Kailash, a Journal of Himalayan Studies, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Bhotahity, Kathamandu, Nepal

Vol. 1, No. 2, 1973

Vajracharya, Gautamvajra : Recently Discovered Inscriptions of Licchavi Nepal

Wayman, Alex : Buddhist Tantric Medicine Theory on behalf of Oneself and Others

No. 3, 1973

Stablein, William : A Medical-Cultural System among the Tibetan and Newar Buddhists—Ceremonial Medicine

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No. 3, 1973

Kubota, Shū : The Comprehension of Dhamma in Aśokan Inscription

Tanaka, Norihiko : A Study of Karma in Existence (bhava)—The Meaning of Karma and its Problems

Hayakawa, Susumu : A Study of the Psychological Ego based on Vijñāna-vāda

Philosophy East and West, A Quarterly of Asian and Comparative Thought, 1993 East-West Road, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

Vol. XXIII, No. 4, October 1973

Swearer, Donald K. : Control and Freedom—The Structure of Buddhist Meditation in the Pāli Suttas

Johnson, David L. : The Task of Relevance—Aurobindo's Synthesis of Religion and Politics

Stunkel, Kenneth R. : The Meeting of East and West in Coomaraswamy and Radhakrishnan

Daya, Douglas D. : A Review of Buddhist Formal Logic by R. S. Y. Chi

Bjaaland, Patricia E. and Lederman, Arthur : A Review of Indian Buddhism by A. K. Warder

Purāṇa, All India Kashiraj Trust, Fort, Ramnagar, Varanasi

Vol. XVI, No. 1, January 1974

Church, Cornella Dimmitt : The Myth of the Four Yugas in the Sanskrit Purāṇas—A Dimensional Study

- Deshpande, V. V. : Nature and Significance of Itihāsa and Purāṇa in Vedic Puruṣārtha Vidyās
 Chemburkar, (Miss) J. : Historical and Religious Background of the Concept of Four Yugas in the Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata Purāṇa
 Sternbach, L. : An Additional Note on "The Textual Correlation between the Anonymous Vyāsa-Subhāṣita-Saṅgraha and Sāyaṇa's Subhāṣita-Sudhā-Nidhi

Thakur, Umakant : Holy Places of North India

Nambiar, K. Damodaran : Nārada-Purāṇa—A Critical Study

(The) *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Institute of Historical Studies, 35 Theatre Road, Calcutta-17*

Vol. XII, No. 4, 1972-73

Nath, R. : The Diwan-i-Khas of Fatehpur Sikri—A Symbol of Akabar's Belief in Sūrya-Puruṣa

Sinha, B. P. : A Review of Early History of North India (C. 200 B.C.—A.D. 650)

Kadam, V. S. : The Privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins under the Later Peshwas

Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1973-74

Banerjee, Phanindra Nath : Some Aspects of Criminal Justice in Medieval India

Bhattacharya, Bhabatosh : The Contribution of Bhatrapa towards Sanskrit Studies in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries and in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

Singa, Birendra Kumar : Indian Historians on Early South East Asia

Rājasthāna Bhārati, Shardul Rajasthani Research Institute, Bikaner

Vol. 15, Nos. 3-4, April-Sept. 1973

Bhargav, Prakash Chandra : Mahārāṇa Kuṁbhā kī Bhāratiya Śilpakalā va Mūrtikalā ko Dena (V.S. 1460-1525) (Hindi)

Devala, Ghanashyam : Kuṁbhā ke Samaya Mevāḍa ke Mālawā va Gujārā ke Sātha Sambandha (Hindi)

Vol. 16, No. 1, Oct.-Dec. 73

Shrivastava Vijayashankar : Bharatiya Mandir Nirmaṇa Kalā ko Kuṁbhā kī Dena (Hindi)

Sharma, Girijashankar : Kuṁbhā—Sāhitya aura Kalā ke Samrakṣaka ke Rūpa mein (Hindi)

Roopa-Lekha, All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, Rafi Marg, New Delhi

Vol. XLI, Nos. 1-2

Aijazuddin, F. S. : The Basohli Gīta Govinda Set of 1730 A.D.—A Reconstruction

- Meister, Michael W. : An Essay in the Interpretation of Indian Architecture
 Vaidya, K. L. : A Missing Link in Art History
 Rakshit, Indu : The Concept of Durga Mahishamardini and Its Iconographic Representation
 Sharma, B. N. : Unpublished Bronzes from Eastern India in the National Museum
 Sing, Sheo Bahadur : Vināyaka Gaṇapati and his Icons in Uttar Pradesh
 Sharma, O. P. and Tandon, B. N. : A Palm-leaf Illustrated Manuscript of the Pancharaksha-Sutras in the National Museum

Sambodhi, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9

Vol. 2, No. 3, Oct. 73

- Dixit, K. K. : Problems of Ethics and Karma Doctrine as Traced in Bhagavatisūtra
 Tiwari, Murti Nandan Prasad : Iconography of Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās as represented in the Ceiling of the Śāntinātha Temple of Kumbhāria
 Kansara, N. M. : A Recent Study of Indian Kāvya Literature
 Dikshit, Krishnakumar : Prācīna Upaniṣadoḥ kī Dārśanika Carcā (Gujarati)

Samvid, Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7

Vol. 10, No. 3, Dec. 73-Feb. 74

- Purohit, Bhaishankar : Bhāratiya Tattvavicārotrkrāntiḥ (Sanskrit)
Saṅgrahādaya Purātattva Patrikā, (Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.), Sāṃkṛtika Kārya evam Vaijñānika Anusandhāna, Uttara Pradeśa Śāsana, Lucknow

No. 2, Dec. 1968

- Joshi, N. P. : Prārambhika Viṣṇu-Mūrtiyorṃ kī Eka Adhyayana (Hindi)
 Naqvi, S. M. : Persian and Urdu Manuscripts related with Lord Kṛṣṇa's Life in the State Museum, Lucknow
 Sharma, R. C. : A Śuṅga Inscription from Sankisa
Śramaṇa, Parshvanatha Vidyashrama Shodha Samsthana, Jaina Institute, I. T. I. Road, Varanasi-4

Vol. 24, No. 7, May 1973

- Surideva, Shriranjan : Bhāratiya Sāhitya kī Ramaṇiya Kāvya Racanā—Gauḍavaho (Hindi)
 Agraval, Premakumar : Jaina Darśana meṃ Yoga kī Pratyaya (Hindi)
 Asarani, U. A. : Jaina Mysticism

Vol. 25, No. 5, 1974

- Pramodkumar : Jaina Karma Siddhānta (Hindi)
 Shastri, Ramesh Muni : Nikṣepavāda—Eka Paridṛṣṭi (Hindi)

Jain, Sudha : Prācīna Bhārata meṁ Jaina Citrakalā (Hindi)

Surabhārati, Baroda Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

Vol. 11, 1973 (Vārṣikāṅka)

Mishra, Shobhita : Śuddhādvaitatattvavimarśaḥ (Sanskrit)

Pandya, Bhagavatiprasad : Śleṣanirūpaṇam (Sanskrit)

Jha, Shobhananda : Kauṇḍabhaṭṭasya Vaiśiṣṭhyam (Sanskrit)

Pathak, Jayanarayana : Dharme Vedasya Svataḥ Prāmāṇyam (Sanskrit)

Bhattabhatta, Ramavireshvar : Ṣaḍaṅgo Vedaḥ (Sanskrit)

Jha, Lakshmikant : Gaṇitāyūṣi Ariṣṭavicārāḥ (Sanskrit)

Purohita, Amrutlal : Mīmāṃsāyā Vedopayogitvavimarśaḥ (Sanskrit)

Jha, Ramanandan : Sāṅkhyarahasyam (Sanskrit)

Kantawala, S. G. : Vikramorvaśiye Ekāvalivaijayantikāprasāṅgavimarśaḥ (Sanskrit)

Svādhyāya, Oriental Institute, Baroda

Vol. 11, No. 1, Oct. 1973

Sandesara, Upendrarai J. : Dharmayaśonidhi Śrīkṛṣṇa (Gujarati)

Mehta, Mrudula H. : Mithilānā Janaka (Gujarati)

Gandhi, Lalchandra B. : Śrī Hemachandrācāryanā Yogaśāstranuṁ Rūpāntara—Śubhacandrācāryano Jñānārṇava (Gujarati)

Sandesara, B. J. : Hiraṇandakṛta 'Kalikālarāsa' ane 'Kaliyugabatrīsī' (Gujarati)

Shah, U. P. : Gujarātānu Guptakālīna Śilpa—Keṭalika Navīna Upalabdhiḥ tema ja Vicāraṇā (Gujarati)

Pathak, Hirababen : Vidṛti (Gujarati)

No. 2, January 1974

Sandesara, Upendrarai : Dharmayaśonidhi Śrīkṛṣṇa (Gujarati)

Kapadia, Bipinchandra : Kālidāsaṁ Kṛti—Eka Dṛṣṭi (Gujarati)

Vallabha Vijnāna, Pushtimargiya Vaishnava Parishad, Phinix Printing Works, 132 Apollo Street, Bombay-1

Vol. 12, No. 5, November 1972

Karmarkar, S. R. : Some Distinctive Characteristics of Bhakti (Devotion) and Sevā (Worship) in the Puṣṭimārgiya Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya of Śrī Vallabhācārya (contd.)

No. 6, December 1972

Sharma, Krishnakant : Ādhunikatā aura Vallabha Dṛṣṭi (Hindi)

No. 8, February 1973

Bhatta, R. K. : Puṣṭimārga aura Vaidika Mārga (Hindi)

[The] *Vedanta Kesari, Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras*
Vol. LX, No. 11, March 1974

Gupta, Mrs. Mallika Clare : A Study of the Gītā

Sen Gupta, Anima : Prakṛti and Vyāsa-bhāṣya of Yoga-Sūtra 2.19

Swami Tapasyananda : The Place of the Bhāgavata among Purāṇas

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Mishra, Shrinarayana : Order of Enumeration of the Vaiśeṣika Categories

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Vol. XVII, 1973

Gail, Adalbert J. : Die neun Abschnitte Bhāratavarṣas. Eine textgeschichtliche Untersuchung

Mette, Adelheid : Vedhas in Lalitavistara und Divyāvadāna. Beschreibung des schönen Körpers in Sanskrit und Prakrit

Goudriaan, Teun : Tumburu and His Sisters

Frauwallner, Erich : Abhidharma-Studien V. Der Sarvāstivādaḥ. Eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche Studie

Kajiyama, Yuichi : Three Kinds of Affirmation and Two Kinds of Negation in Buddhist Philosophy

Mesquita, Roque : Yāmunamuni—Leben, Datierung und Werke

REVIEWS

Gujarātano Rājakiya ane Sāṃskṛtika Itihāsa, Vol. I : Itihāsanī Pūrvabhūmikā : by R. C. PARIKH and H. G. SHASTRI, Pub. by Sheth B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad-9, 1972, pp. 24+610+8 maps+1 graph + 31 plates; Price Rs. 9-75.

The present volume is the first of a series of volumes covering political and cultural history of Gujarat. And as such it forms a background of history—*Itihāsanī Pūrvabhūmikā*. This scheme is mainly patronized by the Government of Gujarat, as a part of their policy of producing original works in Gujarati. For this they deserve compliments.

This volume is planned into four sections which are divided into thirteen chapters. Section I composed of three chapters describes Geography and Geology of Gujarat. Section II comprising chapters four to seven deals with archaeology of Gujarat and as such covers Pre-history and Proto-history. In section III an attempt has been made to study the traditional accounts of various clans referred to in Purāṇas. An appendix regarding location of Dwārakā is added to this. The final section IV takes up ancient Geography, races and their migration and a survey of various eras which prevailed in Gujarat.

The editors who are veteran scholars of Indology deserve compliments for getting co-operation of excellent contributors. Section I describing Geography and Geology gives detailed information but it might have been still better if human Geography had been given more weightage.

Bulk of Section II dealing with Pre-history and Proto-history is contributed by scholars like Prof. Sankalia and Shri S. R. Rao. These chapters seem to have been originally written in English by the authors and translated by others.

This section provides an up-to-date information and discussion about Pre-history and Proto-history of Gujarat. Perhaps this is the first attempt in Gujarati. The chapter dealing with Lothal and other Harappan sites like Somnath, Rozdi, Surakotda, Deshalpar etc. gives a very good account of spread of this culture in time and space, although recently Mr. Rao's theory of Harappan migration by sea-route is refuted by Shri J. P. Joshi who suggests a land-route via Kutch.¹ Mr. Rao has suggested gradual transformation of Harappan culture to Lustrous Red Ware culture and then taking over by people using Black and Red pottery. He has put 1000 B.C. as emergence of iron. This is perhaps a

1 Joshi J. P., Fresh light on the Archaeology of Kutch, *Archaeological Congress and Seminar papers*, p. 34 and fig. 5, Ed. by Deo S. B., Nagpur-1972.

bit earlier. He has also missed the diffusion or meeting of Malwa chalcolithic and Deccan chalcolithic cultures with Late and post-Harappan cultures at Jokha and Dhatwa on the Tapi near Surat and further up-streams at Prakasha in Khandesh.

Section III opens with a detailed justification of the case for using mythological and traditional accounts as a source of history. Here the writer Smt. Suman S. Shah has rightly argued that though the archaeological evidence obtained from excavations at ancient cities like Hastināpura, Śrāvastī, Māhiṣmatī may not have supported the chronology of mythological dynasties, it at least proves the existence of such sites as mentioned in literature. And in future further work may reveal fruitful results.

The detailed information regarding Śāryātas, Bhṛguś and Haihayas is interesting. But the interesting topic of identification of ancient Māhiṣmatī is not discussed and is left only to references of Dr. Sankalia, Pargiter, Fleet and Munshi.

The appendix regarding the original place of Dwārakā is attached to this section.

Section IV dealing with ancient place-names, races and time-scale is written by veterans like K. K. Shastri etc. As a result this is one of the best parts of this volume. It is composed of four chapters regarding ancient geography (chapter 10 & 11), ancient races (chapter 12) and time-scale of various eras (chapter 13). Chapters 10 & 11 regarding place-names and ancient geography begin with an analysis of various sources followed by references of three geographical units of Gujarat: Ānarta, Surāṣṭra and Lāṭa i.e. modern north Gujarat, Saurashtra and South Gujarat. Scores of references backed by good reasoning are cited here. A very exhaustive discussion on the nomenclature of the term 'Gujarat' in relation to geographical, political and cultural aspects is a scholarly contribution. After this, references to mountains, rivers and pilgrim centres of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain interest are given. This is followed by place-names of towns and cities and their inscriptional and literary references. The long list exposes further potentialities of the subject and work ahead.

Chapter 12 deals with ancient races, their origin and migration. The evidences from archaeological excavations of proto-historic sites, inscriptions and literary references are very well marshalled. They indicate Gujarat as a *Cul-de-Sal* of cultures and further enhances the theory of unity in diversity of Indian culture and a long process of diffusion of culture through the mixing of races, as the writer Ushaben Kanhere has propounded. Caste-wise study is quite interesting. But a detailed study of various tribes of Gujarat is not given, perhaps due to lack of sufficient data and sources.

The final chapter devoted to various eras from Śaka Era up to modern National Calendar, covers twelve eras. Every era is studied in relation to its origin, history, chronology and its implications.

From the above it will be evident that this volume in Gujarati is a scholarly work with detailed information, analysis and criticism for which the editors deserve congratulations. The language as a whole is lucid and expressive excepting when it deals with pre-history and proto-history. Maps in linedrawings are not produced well, perhaps due to smaller size. Black and white blocks are not up to the standard of the book.

In Gujarat, where the policy of instruction through mother-tongue is adopted, this scheme of several volumes on History and Culture of Gujarat is a timely endeavour. It is hoped that B. J. Vidyabhavan will be able to get more and more support from the Government, educationalists, scholars and enlightened public to take up such works.

S. N. CROWDHARY

Conflict in Sanskrit Drama : by MINAKSHI L. DALAL, Published by Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd. (Edn. '73), Pages 342, Price Rs. 50/-.

Conflict, psychological or physical, internal or external, at personal level or at social level, seems to be unavoidable at one stage or another in our life, which is full of doubts, disputes, distractions and disbelief. If Aristotle regards art as an imitation and if he explains drama as "an imitation not of men, but of an action and of life", and if Bharata also holds that drama is 'Lokavṛttā-nukarṇa', then conflict seems to be as inherent in drama, western or eastern, as in life. However, it may also be observed that the early oriental thinkers do not emphasise this element of conflict in theory and they seem to press for a sort of spiritual harmony or equilibrium. This results into the fact that conflict as such is never held as an essential factor in Sanskrit theory of drama, and we need not strive to prove otherwise. If we could spot it in practice, well and good; if not, we need not lament over it, for the Sanskrit Drama has many other excellences and graces of its own to make it more relishable to the connoisseur.

On p. 40, the author tries to suggest that conflict existed in the earlier performances as noted by Bharata and that "It is remarkable that Bharata's dramatic practices as represented in these three performances should have *consciously or unconsciously* turned upon the element of conflict, *thus implying that conflict is essential to drama.*" We may say that this could be accidental only and certainly not essential, as is observed by the author herself on p. 42, where she observes, "In other words Bharata's conception of the drama implies, al-

though it may not state it explicitly, that the element of conflict is unavoidable, *if not essential in a drama*”.

The author attempts to explain the term ‘nāṭya’ as in the views of such authorities as Dhanañjaya and others. On p. 43, she mentions first Viśvanātha and then Hemacandra and his disciples. The normal chronological order should have been carefully observed, for very often it becomes the decisive factor in tracing the historical development of a particular concept.

After dealing with the problem of the ‘origin of Drama’ and ‘meaning of the word Nāṭya and its nature’ (p. 40), the author picks up the theory of drama as laid down by Bharata’s Nāṭyaśāstra (p. 45). This in her opinion is necessary in order to ascertain whether it has any bearing on the question of the element of conflict in Sanskrit Drama (p. 45).

After pointing out that ‘Nāṇḍi’ could not contain any theoretical element concerning ‘conflict’, it sounds ridiculous to probe into individual verses of some plays such as the Veṇīsaṁhāra and the like, and try to spot out some faint suggestion of conflict in them. If at all conflict is suggested in these verses, it has nothing to do with the theoretical aspect of it.

P. 46-47 :—The author deals with ‘Sthāpanā and Prastāvanā’ and says, “However, this technical distinction has no bearing upon the problem under discussion (p. 47)”. Then, why bring in such irrelevant discussion at all? The same could be observed with reference to the discussion of vithī, prarocanā and āmukha also.

Pp. 48-55 give us the discussion regarding the ‘vithyaṅgas’, wherein the author has to make special efforts to find the element of conflict even where there is none; pages 55-65 cover the discussion on the nature of vṛttis. The author has attempted to screen the whole structure of the Sanskrit Drama, going into minute details, an activity, which, though useful in itself, could have been abandoned here in favour of only relevant details demanding concentration.

On p. 59 it is observed, “From the treatment of Kaiśikī by N. S. and other authorities, it can be seen that outwardly there is no scope for conflict in it.” Rightly so. Kaiśikī is a graceful style, which in itself has nothing to do with the theme of conflict. Conflict may be found to be there, if any, neither because of it, nor as a reason behind it. The author should learn this. On p. 61, para 3, it is observed, “Therefore, the conflict in this vṛtti will never be of a violent nature. It will depict the subtle conflicts felt within the hearts of the lovers, which are most tender and delicate. Here, even though there is no visible physical injury, the heart may bleed more from inner emotional suffering”. All this is simply unwarranted by theory. It is absolutely clear that the vṛtti is only an instrument of narrating the conflict, if any. It has nothing to do with conflict basically. Ārabhaṭī that way could better suit the author’s purpose. But

it should be always borne in mind that it is one thing to say that a particular *ṛtti* is associated with a particular situation, while it is quite different to say that a particular situation, say that of conflict, is caused by this or that *ṛtti*. It may be more appropriate to say that a particular situation is characterised by a given *ṛtti*, rather than to say that a given *ṛtti* is characterised by a given situation as that of conflict or otherwise. This should explain her observations on p. 65, para 2, 3, 4.

Pp. 66-85 cover the theoretical discussion, regarding the concept of *saṃdhis*. Basically she seems to have accepted the concept as explained by the Daśarūpaka. My understanding is that the Nāṭyadarpaṇa exhibits better understanding and clearer grasp of the concept of *saṃdhi*. While going through the anatomy of *saṃdhis*, the author tries to spot the possibility of conflict if any at any particular point, all the time perhaps remaining conscious of the fact that conflict may be found to be inherent theoretically. With reference to the *mukha-saṃdhi* the author rightly observes that (p. 68), ' there can hardly be any scope for conflict ' and yet she strives to find something of it there, because, in spite of it (*mukhasaṃdhi*) being innocent-looking, theoretically, ' circumstances may involve it in conflict '. It is needless to say that it is one thing to find conflict here or there, but it is quite another to say that theory recognises it consciously. It should also be remembered that the very concept of *saṃdhi* as the sum total of ' *upāya* ' and ' *avasthā* ', as explained by the Daśarūpaka, is not very exact. The author should have turned to the Nāṭyadarpaṇa for this, and should revise her observations in that light. Viewed thus, her remark on p. 73, viz. " N.D. defines *Patākā* rather in an intriguing manner, though the ultimate interpretation is the same as given by others ", sounds useless, for there is nothing ' intriguing ' about N.D.'s manner.

On pp. 74-5, illustrations for *garbhasaṃdhi*, *patākā* and *patākāsthānaka* are discussed at some length. The lengthy discussions could have been avoided and much space could have been saved by it, for on p. 76 the author herself observes : " *Patākāsthānaka*, with all its four varieties, has, as such, little of the element of conflict ".

We may safely agree with the author, when she observes (p. 77) : " *Vimarśa* itself means deliberation, hesitation or doubt; and so, N.D.'s explanation of *Vimarśa* applied to this Juncture is apt and clear. This obviously suggests conflict ". But as to her observation about N.D.'s definition of *Prakarī* on p. 78, viz. " N.D. explains *Prakarī* and gives an unusual definition though the ultimate meaning derived from it is the same as the one accepted by other authorities ", we may say that there is nothing ' unusual ' about it. This should also explain the discussion on p. 79 (para 1).

P. 84—The author seems to suggest that though theoretically there is no scope for conflict in the *nirvahaṇa-saṃdhi*, yet in practice, by way of the intro-

duction of adbhuta, the element of conflict walks in. I beg to differ. Adbhuta need not necessarily be accompanied by the element of conflict.

P. 85-86—Being satisfied with her own conclusion regarding the unavoidable presence of conflict in all the junctures, the author proceeds to treat the samdhyaṅgas theoretically, which, in itself a useful activity, seems to be a task partly out of context. The author should have concentrated only on such parts as may be found useful to her purpose. Thus for example the discussion on the parts of the mukha-saṁdhi could have been ignored, for, she herself remarks, “Naturally, there would be little scope for the element of conflict at this early stage, unless of course, the nature of the Bija demands it” (p. 87). On pp. 87-88 an explanation of ‘bheda’ is taken up which suits the author’s purpose. She calls the explanations advanced by the N.D. and the D.R. as ‘very tame’. Then (p. 89) once again having drawn a conclusion to her satisfaction, the author says: “At the advent of Vidhāna and Bheda, a stir is felt, which gathers a little momentum in the second Juncture, viz. Pratimukha-saṁdhi”. This seems to be slightly overdone. She sees that in such aṅgas as vilāsa, narma, etc., there is not even a semblance of a chance for conflict (p. 89, para 2). So, the discussion on their nature is wisely avoided to save time and space. This should have been the general policy followed throughout the course of the whole argument, which, sadly, it is not.

As for other aṅgas also, e.g. vajra, nirodha, etc., the author has attempted to suggest the possibility of some tension or conflict which may not be there necessarily (p. 89, 90, 91 etc., 104 etc.). The author concludes (pp. 105-6): “In other words the statement that conflict is absolutely essential in a drama has been thoroughly supported by this analysis”. I am afraid we cannot agree fully with this, simply because, the structure of the Sanskrit drama necessarily does not anticipate the element of conflict as a precondition for its very existence. It can well afford to exist without conflict also.

On pp. 106-7, the author has not been able to convince us that the arthopakṣepakas need involve any conflict necessarily. She knows she cannot say as such.

P. 107—The author starts discussing the theory of Rasa and the element of conflict involved in it, if at all. She carefully observes about the Sanskrit drama that (p. 108-9): “It has always managed to retain a harmony, a poise, a sobriety on the whole, although beneath this overall harmony and poise there might lie stormy and convulsing elements in the body of the drama. The delineation of sentiment has remained the Alpha and the Omega of the aim of Sanskrit drama”.

She proceeds to explain in a nut-shell the theory of Rasa and seems to suggest that ‘all later authorities’ hold that it is the *Sthāyibhāva* which, when

energised and stimulated by appropriate Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāri-bhāvas, *attains to its full development*, and is then designated as its corresponding Rasa". I need only say that this can be said only of Lollaṭa and those who seem to accept his views, and not of "all later authorities". This needs no further explanation, for this much should be clear even to those who claim to have only nodding acquaintance with the theory of Rasa. She wants (pp. 109-110) 'to find out if the development of Rasa as such involves conflict at all, and if it does, to what extent'. Once again, the author should clearly bear in mind that it is one thing to find some possibility of conflict in the whole process, and it is quite different to say that it necessarily involves conflict.

On p. 111, the author discusses the nature of rasa experience which is pure joy according to Abhinavagupta and not so according to Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra. I feel that the discussion is quite unwarranted by the topic on hand and therefore could have been avoided. Moreover, she hardly displays even primary understanding of the problem.

On p. 120 (para 2) she concludes that certain rasas like the Raudra, Vīra, Bhayānaka and Karuṇa do involve conflict in a direct manner and that too in external form, which would lead to some degree of internal conflict as well. We have to accept a wider connotation of the word conflict if we want to accept with her that even Śānta may involve conflict. She says (p. 120): "To the extent it suggests reality as unfavourable or obstructive, it may be said to involve conflict". Then bhāvas are taken up to "consider the Bhāvas in more direct relation to the problem of conflict (p. 120)." As for the sthāyins she feels that "what holds good as regards the element of conflict in Rasa, would equally be true of the states (or) Bhāvas" (p. 121). With reference to the Vyabhicārins the author says, "As will be seen, almost all the Bhāvas have an element of conflict, varying in degree only." Then she explains the nature of all the 33 Vyabhicārins (pp. 121-129) and concludes (p. 129, para 2): "Thus, most of the 33 Vyabhicāri Bhāvas, as we have seen, have an element of conflict." The conclusion clearly seems to be a forced one. As for the Vibhāvas (p. 131, 2) the same approach of twisting innocent things to suit one's own view-point is obvious. Anubhāvas (p. 132) being only consequents, she has nothing to say about them.

Then the theoretical discussion concerning characters (pp. 132-140) is taken up and the types of Nāyakas, Nāyikās, their avasthās, etc. etc. are discussed. The author thinks that because a dhīralalita hero would be seeking pleasures in the company of new loves, there is a chance of conflict, may be with the senior queens, etc. All this is no theory. The author should realise this. Conflict is not inherent in the nature of classification of the heroes as attempted by theory. That, this or that type of hero may come across some type of conflict is quite a

different matter altogether. The description of different types of nāyikās follows the D.R. in the main. She should have consulted other major works also. The conclusion drawn on p. 140 (para 1) viz. that "Thus the detailed analysis reveals the constant presence of the element of conflict" could satisfy only the author herself.

Then, on p. 140, the author takes up the consideration of 'acting'. She says, "If the situation demands conflict, the acting of characters creates the required atmosphere". Thus, it becomes obvious that acting follows conflict, if any. It never causes it. The Nāṭyālaṃkāras (p. 141) are taken up. We need not say that the discussion has no bearing on the problem of conflict and the author also seems to be quite conscious of it. My point is that instead of trying to give an idea in such a slipshod way of placing the whole theory of Sanskrit drama before the unwilling reader, she should have better concentrated on only some points which could have been really of some use. Viewed thus, her conclusions on p. 142 (para 3, 4) seem to be hopeless repetitions.

A detailed consideration of the types of Rūpakas (pp. 143-152) and also Up-rūpakas (pp. 154-159) follows. Such observations as on p. 145 (para 1) viz. that "The size and diversity of the dramatic theme in a Nāṭaka will make conflict an important element, though its form and intensity might vary from drama to drama in accordance with the nature of the theme, especially in relation to the principal sentiment chosen", and also, "On the whole, therefore, although the Nāṭaka aims at developing one or the other of the prominent sentiments, *and not the portrayal of conflict as such*, it is obvious that such an aim cannot be realised without the employment of conflict in the development of plot in the framework of the saṃdhis", etc. etc. are all vague, too general and unsupported by actual theory. Same could be applied to her remark on p. 153, viz. that "For the study of conflict also, these varieties provide ample scope. Its rise and fall can be noticed in detail in these works because of wider field. The theoretical scrutiny also reveals the same fact. Its value will be assessed in practice while analysing the dramas". Her observation on p. 159 viz. "Hence, only some of the Upa-rūpakas, which we have taken into consideration, show the presence of conflict in them. Probably, these forms could not interest people for a longer period, because, there was not that sufficient amount of conflict to endow them with that 'kick',"—should be simply dismissed as useless talk.

In Chapter 3, "Conflict in Sanskrit Drama (Practice)," (pp. 160-278) the author seems to travel on the safer and surer grounds. For, theory may or may not respect the element of conflict, the actual practice could prove to be otherwise also. She examines nāṭakas written by Bhāsa (pp. 161-183), Kālidāsa (pp. 183-198), Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa (pp. 198-210), Viśākhadatta (pp. 211-220), Bhavabhūti (pp. 220-236); Prakaraṇas by Śūdraka (pp. 236-247) and Bhava-

bhūti (247-254); nāṭikās by Harṣa (pp. 254-260), toṭaka by Kālidāsa (p. 260), bhāṣas by Śūdraka (pp. 264-266), Īśwaradatta (pp. 266-268), Vararuci (p. 268), Śyāmilaka (p. 269); Prahāsanas by Bodhāyanakavi (p. 271), and Śaṅkha-dhara (p. 272); Vyāyoga by Bhāsa (p. 273), Utsrṣṭikārika by Bhāsa (p. 275), etc. etc. She could have added a few excellent illustrations e.g. the Candrakalā nāṭikā by Viśvanātha, or Vṛṣabhānujā nāṭikā by Mathurānātha, or the Ṣaḍrūpakas by Vatsarāja, or some other plays by writers from Gujarat such as Rāma-candra or Prahlādanadeva, the author of Pārthaparākrama-vyāyoga, etc. etc.

It is very interesting to find the author making an honest confession that ".... Yet the element of struggle, conflict, which lies inherent in this definition, never caught the eye of the legislators of Sanskrit drama; for no authority on the theory of Sanskrit drama has referred to conflict as a vital element in a drama" (p. 160).

She then proceeds to spot the element of conflict, if any, in outstanding examples of Sanskrit dramatic compositions of various types such as the nāṭaka, prakaraṇa, etc. etc. Bhāsa is naturally taken up first for consideration. The author has effectively brought out her point when she observes that (p. 163): "Thus Bhāsa has achieved his purpose of depicting the psychological conflict of lonely Vāsavadattā with limitless love for Udayana," and also that, "The dream vision also shows the great pressure because of the mental conflict and tension on the king's mind, which finds an outlet in the dream" (p. 164); or when she observes on p. 165 that, "Bhāsa, thus, with a style, simple, direct and brief, paints the internal conflict of Vāsavadattā with such a realistic touch that Svapnavāsavadattam can claim a place among the world's classics. Set in a politically disturbed background, the theme of the Svapnavāsavadattam is essentially a study in psychological conflict. What would Svapnavāsavadattam be like without this psychological conflict?" (p. 165). Her observation with reference to the Pratijñā on p. 167 is also sound, viz. that "... the conflict in Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa is mainly external with threads of internal conflict interwoven. In the Svapnavāsavadattam the political eclipse of Udayana serves as a peg on which the main psychological drama of Vāsavadattā's emotions has been hung." So also is her remark on p. 171, viz. that "The elements of the external conflicts are just enough to enable this psychological portrayal," with reference to the Dūtavākya, or her remark with reference to the Karṇabhāram, on p. 171 viz. that "The play is a psychological exercise, laying bare the currents and cross-currents that storm the mind of Karṇa at a critical moment of his career." Equally acceptable is what she has to say about the 'Pratimā' on p. 180, viz. that "The whole of the 'Pratimā' play mainly shows Bharata in relation to Rāma, and the former's mental ordeal, his heart agonised by internal conflicts, which began from his visit to the Pratimā-Gṛha."

The author successfully attempts to point out the element of conflict in the plays of Kālidāsa when she observes, e.g. on p. 189 that "Mālavikā thus, presents conflict at every step....etc.", or on p. 198, wherein she has quoted from De, or on p. 264, with reference to the Vikramo. that "The plot clearly demonstrates the importance of conflict in a dramatic theme. Acts like the third drag on with very little dramatic interest for want of an element of conflict."

With reference to the Venīsaṃhāram, she observes (p. 205). "The main theme of the battle provides a vast canvas for the portrayal of conflict, and the character-sketches give an insight into the nature and mood of the characters, and depict the internal conflict". On Mudrārākṣasa, she offers a quotation from De (on p. 219) which is acceptable. Her observations with reference to the prakaraṇas of Bhavabhūti and Śūdraka also would find acceptance by all of us. We may agree with well-drawn concluding remarks on pp. 276-278 also.

Chapter 4 gives the author's conclusions. She attempts a comparison of the theories of Aristotle and Bharata (pp. 280-285), which is useful, though of course some of her observations seem to be over enthusiastic, e.g. the one on p. 285 that "Thus, it has become obvious from the comparative brief survey of the concept and structure of the drama of the East and the West, *that conflict is the backbone as it were of both the theories*,"; or on p. 290, that "Therefore, sentiment is the soul of the Sanskrit drama though the element of conflict is absolutely necessary to develop the sentiment". We may say that her observations with reference to the actual practice in the Sanskrit drama are not as objectionable as are those with reference to the theory aspect. She ends her discussion with quotation from Keith, Bhat, Mainkar, Jhala and Wells, that seem to support her plea (pp. 295, 296). On p. 296 she says: "This comparative study of both the theories reveals that though the element of conflict occupies a position of great importance, *the development of sentiment is the main aim of Sanskrit drama*". *The latter half is the 'whole truth'*.

We come across a very big number of misprints to the extent that the publishers have to put a note on a separate page in the very beginning of the book.

Transliteration also suggests lack of consistency. We come across 'n' for 'ñ' e.g. in 'vīthyangas' on p. 48, or on p. 86. We have both 'ॐ' and 'ॐ' mentioned as 'ॐ'. Abbreviations should have been placed in alphabetical order and editions of various works should have been clearly identified.

The book, written in a flowing style, makes a very fascinating reading on the whole and deserves full attention by good students of Sanskrit Drama and Sanskrit dramatic theory.

Mādhava Dravyaguṇa (Bhāva-Svabhāva-Vāda): Edited by Dr. P. V. SHARMA, M.A. (double), A.M.S. (Banaras), Sāhityācārya, Senior Professor and Head of the department of Dravyaguṇa, Faculty of Medical Sciences, Banaras Hindu University; Published by the Chowkhamba Vidyabhavana-Āyurveda Granthamālā 72 (Banaras); Pages: 122 + 18; Price Rs. 12/-

In the beginning the editor has given the Sampādaka Paricaya. (Acquaintance of the Editor) in Sanskrit verses. Let us see the last stanza of this, in which the editor introduces himself thus:

क्रमेण कालोपहृताः निघण्टवः
तिरोगताः द्रव्यगुणाक्त्रास्तथा ।
मृशं समुद्धर्तुमिहैष तान् मुदा
प्रियं व्रतं धारयति प्रियव्रतः ॥

The editor Priyavrata has taken a vow to edit the old unpublished nighaṇṭus as many as he can and the readers of this Journal would be glad to know that he has already edited the “*Śodhala Nighaṇṭu*” and the Oriental Institute of Baroda is going to publish it very shortly. The editor has taken great pains to go through the different Catalogues and manuscripts. He is a versatile scholar of Āyurvedic literature and is the author of many books on Āyurveda. In the International Congress at Paris, Priyavrataji had read a paper on “Drugs as Landmark of the History of Indian Medicine” which has been published in many foreign journals. During the years 1968-1973, he has published the following books:—

1. *Vāgbhāṣa Vivecana*—1968.
2. *Caraka Cintana*—1970.
3. *Indian Medicine in the Classical Age*—1972.
4. *Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṇṭu of Vāhaṭa*—1972.
5. *Mādhava-Dravyaguṇa*—1973.

Let us hope, he may be still busy with some other works on Āyurveda.

The present volume “*Mādhava Dravyaguṇa*” is also a small nighaṇṭu or Dravyaguṇa (The Properties of Plants or Drugs in Āyurveda). But the question arises as to who this Mādhava is. The celebrated author of the *Rug Viniścaya* or the *Mādhava Nidāna** is not this Mādhava, as this volume contains the use of opium, Bhāṅga, Sulemāni Kharjūra and Jayapāla—the drugs introduced in India by foreigners after the 12th Century A.D. Moreover Mādhava, son of Indukara or Indrakara has on his name the *Paryāya Ratnamālā* as one of the works on Indian Materia Medica, from which later writers like Vṛnda and Cakrapāṇi Datta have borrowed. But apart from this, a work known as *Dravyaguṇa* of

* A Popular Āyurvedic work on diagnosis of diseases composed in the 7th cent. A.D.

Mādhava has been quoted by some commentators which showed that there was another independent work on Indian Materia Medica by Mādhava. This made this editor inquisitive to find out the manuscript and he found in Aufrecht's† Catalogus Catalogorum the following reference :—

Mādhava—son of Cakradatta, grandson of Śrīkaṇṭha Datta, father of Puruṣottama (Dravyaguṇa med.) Cat-Cat. Part II, page 103.

This information is too meagre to enable the editor to proceed further. But fortunately he came across a manuscript of Mādhava's *Dravyaguṇa* located in the Bhāratendu collection of the Bhārata Kalā Bhavana of the Banaras Hindu University. The editor is working in the said University.

Mādhava has been quoted extensively by Bhānujī Dīkṣita (17th Century A.D.), the commentator of *Amarakośa*, but all these references are from the *Paryāyamālā* of Mādhava and not from Mādhava's *Dravyaguṇa*. Similarly Śārvānanda-Vandiyaghatiya (12th Cent. A.D.) in his commentary on *Amarakośa* has also quoted Mādhava, but here also the same work *Paryāyamālā* of Mādhava is meant and not this *Dravyaguṇa*.

A large number of verses in Mādhava's work tally with those of Śoḍhala *Nighaṇṭu* and *Dravyaguṇasaṅgraha* of Cakrapāṇi Datta. So, the editor has fixed the date of this volume between Śoḍhala (12th Century A.D.) and Bopadeva (14th Century A.D.) i.e. 13th Century A.D. This is confirmed by the fact that the work has been commented upon by Meghadeva, son of Ravinābha who has quoted Aruṇadatta (The commentator of *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* of Vāgbhata) and is thus placed in 14th Cent. A.D. His work is known as *Bhāva-Svabhāva-Ṭippaṇī*.¹

The author of this work, Mādhava, calls himself a Kavi.² If taken as the abbreviated form of Kavirāja, Mādhava seems to belong to Bengal, where the Vaidyas call themselves Kavirājas. Aufrecht's view that the authorship of this work goes to Mādhava, son of Cakradatta and grandson of Śrīkaṇṭha Datta is again confirmed; the genealogy as given by Puruṣottama³ in his work is as follows :—

† Aufrecht has mentioned about 60 different Mādhavas. Among them there is one Mādhava Kavi, author of the *Padyāvali*. Vide footnote on p. 15 (Introduction).

1 No. 1332, Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts Vol. I Bibliotheque National, Paris. Mādhava's *Drvyaguṇa* is differently named as Mādhavābhidhāna or Bhāva-Svabhāva (Vāda) as taken by the Commentator Meghadeva. Also see No. 142, A check-list of Sanskrit Medical manuscripts in India a.c. R I.M. (New Delhi).

2 आकृष्य सर्वशास्त्राण्युपयुक्तसमस्तवस्तुगुणदोषः ।

माधवकविना रचितः सुखहेतोः सर्वस्त्वानाम् ॥

प्रकीर्ण वर्ग. verse 102, p. 77.

3 There is a MS of *Drvyaguṇa* (no. 3165) in Jammu Kashmir Library whose author is Puruṣottama.

वृन्दस्य माधवकरस्य च संग्रहेषु व्याख्याकरः सकलजीवितवेदविज्ञः ।
 श्रीकण्ठदत्तयः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां तेनानुरूपतनयोऽजनि चक्रदत्तः ॥
 चक्रस्य पौत्रोऽपि च माधवस्य पुत्रो हरेर्या विमला प्रसूतिः ।
 जगद्धितार्थं पुरुषोत्तमोऽसौ संक्षेपतो द्रव्यगुणं चकार ॥

Śrīkaṇṭha Datta (Disciple of Vijayarakṣita)

↓
Cakradatta

↓
Mādhava

↓
Puruṣottama

So, according to the Editor, the date of this Mādhava is 13th Century A.D. *Śoḍhala Nighaṇṭu* also contains verses similar to those of this Mādhava.

So, both seem to be contemporary and they both might have borrowed from some other source. *Śoḍhala* belongs to 12th Century A.D. and so Mādhava's date is approximately fixed in 13th Century A.D.

Let us see some salient features of this little Volume :—

(1) There is a description of Jayapāla (Croton known in Gujarati as nepālo). Jayapāla has never been mentioned in the earlier works of *Caraka*, *Suśruta* and *Vāgbhaṭa*. So it is a drug of mediaeval texts.

(2) Vijayā (Bhāṅga) has been described which is also a drug of the mediaeval texts.

(3) Opium has been mentioned. No Reference to opium is found in the works before the 12th Century A.D. *Dhanvantarī Nighaṇṭu* (10-13th Century A.D.) has mentioned opium.

(4) There is no mention of (yaśada). The Author has given the properties of metals¹ as they are used in medicine even at present. In this list Yaśada has not been mentioned which also is found in the texts composed after 14th Cent. A.D.

(5) There is Sulemānī Kharjūra which is found in *Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu* (14th Cent. A.D.) and Bhāvaprakāśa (16th Cent. A.D.) in later mediaeval period.

The points 4 & 5 indicate the existence of this work before Madanapāla (14th Cent. A.D.).

The work of this Volume is divided into 29 Vargas, beginning with Vividha auṣadhī Varga and ending with Prakīrṇa Varga (swastha Vṛtta). Some Vargas are the peculiarity of this Volume. Vividhaauṣadhī varga (Miscellaneous)

1 On pages 11 and 12 Vividhaauṣadhī-Varga verses 144 to 167.

contains drugs of Vegetable, mineral and animal origin. Even some flowers are included in this and this is why it is named as Vividhauṣadhivarga. Pārada, Gandhaka, Hīṅgula, Mākṣika etc. have also been included in this Opium (Āfūka) and Bhaṅgā (*Canabis indica*) is included in this first Varga. Even Cobra Bile (Sarpapittam) is used in epilepsy and leprosy. In the Lavaṇavarga Sudhākṣāra (Caustic alkali from *Euphorbia nerifolia*) and Pālāśakṣāra (*Butea monosperma* Kṣāra) have been mentioned. In the Sneha Varga Vasā and majjā—fats and marrows of various creatures have been mentioned. This shows that Vaidyas might be using these in their practice. In the Śālivarga (Paddies) Maireya and Ghoṭapuccha varieties of Śāli are mentioned, which is not found in any other Nighaṇṭu. In the Kudhānyavarga (Inferior types of grains) wheat (Godhūma) and sesamum (Tila) have been included. This shows that the author has followed Suśruta and not Caraka. In the Śimbīdhānyavarga a chapter on the leguminous articles of food Umā (alasi—*Linum usitatissimum*) and Kusumba (seeds of safflower) have been included. In the Matsyavarga, Hilisā, a kind of fish, has been included. In the Phalavarga (Fruits), after describing the properties, the author ventures to pronounce that ‘*Viṣatindukamapyevam viśeṣāt grāhī śītaḥ*’. Viṣatinduka is identified as nux-vomice and it is considered a poisonous drug. Still another has joined with Tinduka (*Diospyrous embriopteris*) whose ripe fruits are eaten mostly by the aborigines.

In the Śākavarga (Vegetables or pot-herbs) after giving the properties of Vārtāka fruits (Brinjal), the author has given Vārtākī. It seems that this Vārtākī is different from the Vārtāka fruits. A vegetable Modakam, Gṛhapaṭolikā Hastikarkoṭakam, Chatrakāḥ (mushrooms), Piṇyākī are new vegetables. The author specifies some species of mushrooms such as ‘*Kukkuṭaṇḍa*’ (p. 55) which have been specified as tonic, fattening, aphrodisiac etc. This shows that some non-poisonous varieties of mushrooms might have been used as pot-herbs in the time of this author. Surendrakanda has been copied from Suśruta but Bhūkanda, even though not mentioned by Suśruta, has been included here.

The Śreṣṭhavarga (the best amongst cereals, legumes, fruits, vegetables, flesh, fish, milk, ghee etc.), the Rasavarga (according to Āyurveda there are six Rasas such as Madhura, Amla etc.), Maṇḍavarga (This seems to be taken from Kāśyapasaṃhitā), Annavarga (Peyā, Yavāgu etc. and other food preparations), Anupānavarga (the author seems to be a follower of Suśruta) and Prakirṇavarga (Miscellaneous)—this is the classification which is not given by Suśruta but seems to have been taken from various sources. This last Varga has, at the end, the following verse which shows that the author has borrowed from various sources :—

सुश्रुतचरकपराशरवाग्भटहरिचन्द्रमेडवैदेहैः ।

हारीताचैरपरैः उक्तं यद् यत् महामुनिभिः ॥ १०१ ॥

आकृष्य सर्वशास्त्राण्युपयुक्तसमस्तवस्तुगुणदोषः ।

माधवकविना रचितः सुखहेतोः सर्वसत्त्वानाम् ॥ १०२ ॥

The author has borrowed copiously from the works of the great sages like Suśruta, Caraka, Parāśara, Vāgbhaṭa, Haricandra, Bheda, Vaideha, Hārīta and many others and has such all the medical texts and Nighaṇṭus for the properties (guṇas) of all the materials that are used or prescribed in Āyurvedic medicine. The author of this *Dravyagūṇa*—Mādhava Kavi—has composed or compiled this volume for the good of all the creatures.

We congratulate the versatile editor of this small Volume for his excellent editing of this unpublished work. The Āyurvedic World is obliged by the Editor.

BAPALAL VAIDYA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- (1) *Collection of Jaina Philosophical Tracts* : Edited by Nagin J. Shah, Pub. by the Director, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9 ; pp. 164 + 3, Price Rs. 16/-.
- (2) *The Mahā Bhārata—A Short Study* : Edited by Masti Venkatasayana Iyengar; Pub. by Dr. V. Raghavan, President, Sanskrit Academy, Madras-600004; pp. 72, Price Rs. 3/-.
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- (12) *White Head's for Principles* : by Anil Kumar Sarkar, Prof. of Philosophy, California State University, Hay Ward, California, U.S.A., Pub. by Bharti Bhavan, Patna-800004 (India), pp. 166, Price Rs. 22/-.
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OBITUARY

Prof. Madhusudan Chimanlal Modi

On 23rd March, 1974 Prof. Madhusudan Chimanlal Modi passed away at the age of 70, after a brief illness. In him we have lost one of the few devoted scholars of Apabhraṃśa and Old Gujarati. Born on 20th November 1904 at Ṭhāsra in the Kheḍā district of Gujarat, he got his B.A. (1925) and M.A. (1928) degrees from the Fergusson College, Poona and LL.B. degree (1932) from Ahmedabad. From 1939 onwards for several years he taught Apabhraṃśa and old Gujarati to post-graduate students at Ahmedabad.

The newly developing fields of Apabhraṃśa and old Gujarati philology became his special areas of interest. His contributions to the editing and study of Apabhraṃśa texts started with his edition of Jayadeva Muni's *Bhāvanā-saṃdhi-prakaraṇa*, which was published in 1930. This was followed at long or short intervals by Apabhraṃśa selections (called *Apabhraṃśa-pāṭhāvalī*) (1935), *Paumasiricariu* (1948), *Nemināhacariya* (1970, 1971), and *Chakkammuvaeso* (1972). The six poems in the *Gurjara-rāsāvalī* (1956) and the edition of *Vasanta-vilāsa-Phāgu* (1960) are his important contributions to the field of Old Gujarati. His *Hema-saṃikṣā* (1942) is an informative and critical survey of all the works of Ācārya Hemacandra.

Prof. Modi's editions of classical texts are usefully provided with scholarly introductions (including analysis of grammatical and metrical data *inter-alia*), explanatory notes and an etymological glossary of all the important words. A look at the *Gurjara-rāsāvalī* and the *Chakkammuvaeso* is enough to show how he did not spare any pains to make his editions very useful for the students. The present writer found collaboration with him always very pleasant and fruitful. Of late Prof. Modi was engaged in preparing an edition of the Apabhraṃśa sections of Vardhamāna's unpublished Prakrit epic *Risahanāha-cariya* completed in 1104 A.D. (1160 V.S.) Just fifteen days prior to his sad demise we discussed a plan to edit in collaboration a few more Apabhraṃśa works. Even though a large part of his time was used up by his business activities, he had been able to maintain an active and continuous interest in Indological research, and during last few years of semi-retirement he could devote most of his time to the work he always cherished most.

Prof. Modi was a man of broad culture and wide reading. Conversation and discussion with him were always intellectually engaging and entertaining. By his death the poor world of Apabhraṃśa and Old Gujarati studies has become poorer.

The works of Prof. Modi (individual or Collaborative) are listed below;

1. 'Bhāvanā-saṁdhi-prakaraṇam of Jayadevamuni' ABORI, XI, 1930, 1-31.
2. *Apabhraṁśa-pāṭhāvalī*
(Introduction etc. in Gujarati) H.B. Series, no. 52,
1935, Ahmedabad.
3. *Hema-saṁkṣā* (in Gujarati) 1942, Ahmedabad.
4. *Paumasiricariu* of Dhāhila S. J. Series, no. 24,
(Introduction etc. in Gujarati, in collaboration 1948, Bombay
with H. C. Bhayani)
5. *Gurjara-rāsāvalī*
(in Coll. with B. K. Thakore, M. D. Desai) G. O. Series, no. 118,
1956, Baroda.
6. *Vasanta-Vilāsa-Phāgu* R. O. Series, no. 36,
1960, Jodhpur.
- 7-8. *Nemināha Cariya*, Part I, II L. D. Series, nos, 25, 33,
(in Coll. with H. C. Bhayani) 1970, 1971, Ahmedabad.
9. *Chakkammuvaeso* G. O. Series, no. 155,
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10. *Caturviṁśati-jina-stuti*
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(in coll. with H. C. Bhayani)

H. C. BHAYANI

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CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF SOME READINGS OF THE PAIPPALĀDA SAMĤITĀ (KĀṆḌA IV)

[With special reference to D. BHATTACHARYYA'S edition]

By

HUKAM CHAND PATYAL, Poona

Introductory Remarks :

Among nine schools of the AV¹, the *Paippalāda* (= AVP) and the *Śaunaka* (= AVŚ) schools alone have come down to us. The *Śaunaka* is preserved in the written and the oral traditions. Even the *Paippalāda* Mss, collected by Durgamohan BHATTACHARYYA, do not contain accent marks. Needless to say, both these schools have been extremely popular in India.

It was R. ROTH who found in Kashmir a mutilated birch-bark manuscript of AV belonging to the *Paippalāda* school.² This Ms was reproduced by M.

1 For detailed account of these recensions, see e.g., BOLLING and NEGELEIN (ed.), *The Atharvaveda—Pariśiṣṭa*, Leipzig (1909-10), p. 337f.; B. R. MODAK, *A Study of Ancillary Literature of the Atharvaveda with special reference to the Pariśiṣṭas*, Vol. II (Pt. III Text), Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Poona, Poona (1959), p. 235; M. BLOOMFIELD, *Introduction to the Kauśikasūtra*, in *JAOS* XIV (1890), p. xxxii; Durgamohan BHATTACHARYYA, *Paippalāda Samhitā of the Atharvaveda* (ed.), Calcutta (1964), Introdn. p. ix; H. C. PATYAL, *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa—English Translation with Notes and Introduction*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Poona, Poona (1969), Introdn. pp. i-iii; also see the forthcoming articles on Kāṇḍas II and III in *JOI*, Baroda, and *Pandit Charu Deva Shastri Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, respectively; Ganga Sagar RAI, "Śākhās of the Atharvaveda", *Purāṇa* XIV. 1, Varanasi (January 1972), pp. 58-69 (especially for Puranic references).

2 See R. ROTH in *Atti del IV Congresso internazionale Legli Orientalist*, ii. 89-96; also R. GARBE in *Verzeichnis* No. 14.

BLOOMFIELD and R. GARBE.¹ The text of this Ms written in Śārādā script, is corrupt, in many cases even beyond recognition, hence unintelligible.

L.C. BARRET did the most difficult task of transcribing the Kashmirian Ms, book by book into Roman characters.² He made sincere efforts in his notes in emending the original text, wherever it was possible for him. More often than not, he could not be successful in arriving at convincing results. Those working in the field of Paippalāda studies feel grateful to BARRET. This BARRET's text was again reproduced by RAGHU VIRA in Devanāgarī script.³ He made some improvements and also a specification of parallel passages which was very much welcome. Despite the sincere efforts of BARRET and RAGHU VIRA the text could not help remaining defective in many aspects. K. HOFFMANN's remark is worth quoting ".... everyone who has dealt with the Paippalāda version from philological or linguistic point of view has, again and again, been driven to despair. There were only rare cases in which the details inferred from the text could be relied on".⁴

The findings of Durgamohan BHATTACHARYYA are phenomenal and of the highest importance for the knowledge of Vedic language and literature.

The first book: *Paippalāda Samhitā of the Atharvaveda, First Kāṇḍa*, edited from original manuscripts with critical notes, Calcutta (1964), is now attested in three newly found sources.⁵ The text is collated throughout with the Śaunaka version, but reference to the Kashmir text, other Samhitā texts etc., and to unspecified tape recorded material from Orissa is variously irregular.⁶

Now Vol. II, consisting of Kāṇḍas II-IV, Calcutta (1970), has been completed by his son Dipak BHATTACHARYYA. From his introductory note⁷ it

1 *The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda (School of the Paippalādins) reproduced by chromophotography from the manuscript in the University Library at Tübingen*, Baltimore (1901).

2 His edition appeared in several volumes of *JAOS* and also in two independent publications. Kāṇḍa I in *JAOS* 26.2, pp. 197-295; Kāṇḍa II in Vol. 30, pp. 187-258; Kāṇḍa III in Vol. 32, pp. 343-90; Kāṇḍa IV in Vol. 35, pp. 42-101 and so on. He began his work by saying: "The elaboration of the first book of the *Paippalāda* is in the nature of the case of experiment and only that" (*JAOS* 26, p. 197).

3 Vol. I, Kāṇḍas I-XIII, Lahore (1936); Vol. II, Kāṇḍas XIV-XVIII, Lahore (1940); Vol. III, Kāṇḍas XVIII-XX along with indices, Lahore (1941).

4 "Remarks on the New Edition of the *Paippalāda-Samhitā*", *Indo-Iranian Journal* XI, p. 1.

5 For the description of MSS see BHATTACHARYYA, *op. cit.*, Introdn., pp. xviii-xix; "A palm-leaf Manuscript of the *Paippalāda Samhitā*: Announcement of a Rare Find", *Our Heritage* V. ii, Calcutta (1957), pp. 81-86; "Palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Paippalāda-samhitā*: Textual importance of the new finds," *The Adyar Library Bulletin Jubilee Volume* (1961), pp. 203-15.

6 See K. HOFFMANN, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-10; J. C. WRIGHT's review on this text in *BSOAS* XXX (1967), pp. 201-2.

7 p. xxi.

appears that his father had handed over to the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, the press copy of the text up to Kāṇḍa III. Moreover, he had himself seen the final proofs up to this portion. He had edited the text up to IV. 27.7, after that the editing was done by his able son.

In this paper I shall make an attempt to examine some of the unintelligible or rather obscure readings of Kāṇḍa IV.

IV. 1.5^{ab}. This hymn is ascribed to Hiranyagarbha Prājāpatya and is supposed to be addressed to an Unknown God 'Ka', 'Who'. This hymn (= AVŚ IV.2, except verse No. 9 which is exclusively found in this text) is found with considerable variants, and is a version of the noted RV X.121. This hymn is also found in other texts, such as TS IV.1.8; Mait S.II.13.23; KS XL.1, and VS (in sundry places). Cf. this verse with AVŚ IV.2.3; RV X.121.6; VS XXXII.7; KS XL.1; Mait S. II.13.23; TS IV.1.8.5.

The hymn (AVŚ IV.2) is used by Kauś. 44.1 ff. in the *vaśāśamana*-rite, and according to Kauś. 45.1 in the sacrifice of the foetus of the *vaśā*—cow, if she is found to be pregnant. In Vait. 8.22 verse 1 (or the whole hymn?) accompanies an offering to Prajāpati in the Cāturmāsya offerings. Also cf. TS IV.1.8 where these verses are used in the animal offering to Prajāpati. The whole hymn is also used in the *avadāna*-offerings in the Agnicayana rite (Vait. 28.5). The RV X.121 seems to be a polemic against RV II.12, with a specific purpose of establishing Prajāpati, the Sole God, as the Sole Creator.¹

BARRET's text reads: *ya ime dyāvāprthivī tastabhānādhāred avasā rejamāne/* BARRET emends *tastabhānādhāred* to *tastabhāne adhārayad* which is followed by RAGHU VIRĀ.

BHATTACHARYYA reads *tastabhānā dhārayad* In accord with the substantive in dual the adjectival form should also be in dual, therefore *tastabhānā dhārayad* be emended to *tastabhāne dhārayad*. Strangely enough,

1 For variants of this verse see W. D. WHITNEY, *The Atharvaveda Samhitā* Vol. I, pp. 145-8 (notes on IV. 2). H. OLDENBERG, *Die Hymnes des Rgveda*.- I. *Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena*, Berlin (1888), pp. 314-6, has shown in great detail the inferior character of the Yajus texts, especially in KS and Mait S, where the tradition of degradation has gone further than in TS. On this hymn, see e.g., F. MAX MÜLLER, *Vedic Hymns, SBE* XXXII, pp. 1-13; H. OLDENBERG, *Rgveda Textkritische und exegetische Note* (Bd. II), Berlin (1912), p. 341; P. DEUSSEN, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Religionen*, I. i, p. 128 ff; H. W. WALLIS, *Cosmology of the RV*, p. 56; C. R. LANMAN, *Sanskrit Reader*, pp. 391-3; M. BLOOMFIELD, "Contribution to the Interpretation of the Veda", *JAOS* XV (1893), p. 184; K. F. GELDNER, *Der Rigveda*, Vol. III (*HOS* 35), pp. 347-9; L. RENOU, *Études Védiques et Pāninéennes*, Tome XVI, p. 165; W. Norman BROWN, "Theories of Creation in the Rig Veda", *JAOS* 85 (1965), pp. 23-34 (especially pp. 31-2).

the edition under discussion reads *tasmai* instead of *kasmai* of all other texts in pāda *d* of verses 1-6. These pādas would mean :

‘One who supported with assistance these stablished, shaking heaven and earth’.

IV. 3.1°. BHATTACHARYYA’s *saptasākam* be decomposed (cf. AVŚ XIII. 3.10°). The pāda means :

‘In which the seven suns are set together’.

IV. 3.2°^d. BHATTACHARYYA reads *yebhir vācam puṣkaler avyayas tena māgne varcasā sam srjeha* BARRET (emendation) and RAGHU VIRA read *puṣkalebhir avyayams* and *māgre* respectively. Cf. TB II. 7.15.2 which reads *puṣkalebhir avyayat* *tenemam agna iha varcasā samāndhil*

BHATTACHARYYA’s *puṣkaler* can be an abl./gen. sg. form of the stem *puṣkali-*, but the existence of such a stem is highly doubtful. Obviously, it seems to be an error either for *puṣkalebhir* or for *puṣkalair*. In this case it seems to be an error for the latter form *puṣkalair*. These pādas be understood as follows:

‘With those several (crafts) you expended the speech; o Agni, endow me hither with that lustre’ !

IV. 4.2 The hymns AVŚ I.7 and 8 are mainly employed against the beings (either human or demoniacal) called *yātudhānas* ‘sorcerers’. Both these hymns are called by Kauś. 8.25 *cātanāni* ‘expellers’, and are used in a few places for exorcism and such purposes. In Ath Paris. 32.3 these hymns are enumerated under *cātanagaṇa-*. This verse is parallel to AVŚ I.7.2.

BARRET’s text reads in pādas *ab* *parameṣṭhin̄ jātavedas tanūvaśim* He emends this text to *parameṣṭhin̄ jātavedas tanūvaśin̄*.

In pāda *c* BARRET’s text reads *tūlasya*. In accord with AVŚ I.7.2° he emends this text to *taulasya*. Pādas *cd* read *prāśām yātudhānād vilāpayah̄*. BARRET emends this reading to *prāśāna yātudhānān* RAGHU VIRA emends *vilāpayah̄* to *vilāpaya*. In pāda *a* BHATTACHARYYA’s text reads *parameṣṭhinam̄* In this verse a form in acc. sg. is not desirable, but a form in voc. sg. is required, for all these are the epithets of Agni. The reading *taulasya* of pāda *c* is also supported by all Mss. of AVŚ. I do not want to pass on any comment on this reading. PW III.397; WHITNEY, *op.cit.*, p. 7; BLOOM-FIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 238, emend the text to *tailasya*.² This verse may be understood as follows :

1 Cf. Ath Prāt. II. 11 *Cavargīya ghoṣavati*. That is to say, *n* before the palatal consonants is converted into *ñ*. Also see other treatises, such as Rk Prāt. IV. 4; Vāj Prāt. IV. 92; Taitt Prāt. V. 25. They prescribe the conversion of *n* to *ñ* before any following palatal; Rk Prāt. and Taitt Prāt. include the palatal sibilants also in the same prescription.

2 Sāyana explains the word as: *tulāvat hūyamānadravyasya* “situated in the sacrificial ladle”. The butter is measured, or it simply signifies *avadiyamāna* ‘cut off’ (in the ritualistic

‘O Agni, Jātavedas, that stand on high, self-controller, partake of the clarified butter, of the sesame oil (? *tailasya*), make the sorcerers cry out ’ !

IV. 5.7^d. This hymn (= AVŚ IV.4, of course with several variants) is employed as a charm for recovery of virility.

Read as a compound form *tanūbalaṃ* instead of *tanū balaṃ* of BHATTACHARYYA (cf. AVŚ IX.4.20). This verse may be compared with AVŚ IV.4.4.

Pādas *cd* of the text read : *saṃ punisām indra vṛṣṇyam asmai dhehi tanūbalaṃ* / These pādas would mean :

‘O Indra, place together in him the virility of men, your own-strength !’

IV. 12.3^{cd}. According to Kauś. 14.26 ff., the hymns IV. 31 and 32 of AVŚ (= AVP IV.12 and IV.32 = RV X.84 and 83 respectively, of course with minor variants) are used in the ceremonies for success in battle and for determining the victory of the two opposing armies. In these hymns Manyu (‘fury’) is eulogised and also a prayer is made to him.

BHATTACHARYYA reads *ugraṃ te śraddho nanvā rurudhre vaśi vāsaṃ nayāsā ekaja tvam* / BARRET (emendation) and RAGHU VIRA read *śardho nanvā rurujre* (?) The parallel verse AVŚ IV.31.3 reads *ugrām te pā’jo¹ nanv ā’ rurudhre vaśi’ vāsaṃ nayāsā ekaja tvām*. RV X.84.3 has almost the same reading as found in AVŚ. In pāda *d* RV reads *nayasa* for *nayāsā* of AVP and AVŚ.

BHATTACHARYYA’s reading *śraddho* is problematic. With the adjectival form *ugram* in neuter gender we would expect its substantive too in the same gender. We can get this form from the stem *śraddhas-* in neuter gender. But the existence of such a stem is highly doubtful. In this case we will have to accept the reading *śardho* (from *śardhas-*) of the other editions, which conveys proper sense to the context. BHATTACHARYYA’s *ā rurudhre* (also attested by AVŚ and RV) is acceptable in place of the dubious *ā rurujre* of the other editions. These pādas may be understood as follows :

‘Never, have they impeded your formidable troop; you, controlling, shall bring them under control, o incomparable one.’

IV. 15.7^{ab}. According to Kauś. 28.5-6 and 28.14, AVŚ IV.12 (= the present hymn) is used to cure external lesions, and fractures of bones. Accord-

sense), since \sqrt{tul} means ‘mete out’. Also see L. RENOU, “List of Remarkable Words from the Kashmirian (Paippalāda) Version of the *Atharvaveda*”, *Vāk* 5, p. 87, who accepting BARRET’s reading *taula*—renders it by “situated on the sacrificial ladder”.

1 On the meaning of the word *pā’jasā*, see e.g., Samuel D. ATKINS, “The meaning of Vedic *pā’jas*”, *JAOS* 85 (1965), pp. 9-22 (especially p. 17 on RV X. 84.3). He renders the word *pā’jas* by ‘body’.

ing to Keśava the practice is assigned to the healing of broken bones, wounds, and flow of blood caused by weapons (*asthibhaṅge rudhirapravāhe śaṣṭrābhi-ghātāḍau bhaiṣajyam*).¹

BHATTACHARYYA reads *uttiṣṭha prehi samidhāya te paruḥ saṁ te dhātā dadhātu tanvo viriṣṭam*/ RAGHU VIRA and BARRET (emendation) read *saṁ u dhāhi* in pāda *a* for *samidhāya* of BHATTACHARYYA. Cf. this verse with AVŚ IV.12.6. The latter reading *saṁ .. dhāhi* would no doubt give a good sense provided *dhāhi* be accepted as an imperative second person sg. form of $\sqrt{dhā}$ (? may belong to class II conjugation). The former reading *samidhāya* at least to me seems to be quite obscure. Here the text may better be corrected to *saṁ u dhāya* (*saṁ* + $\sqrt{dhā}$ + absolutive). By accepting the reading *saṁ ... dhāya*, the text be rendered as follows.

‘ Having fixed your joint, you stand up, go forth; let the supporter fix the disordered (portion) of your body ! ’

IV. 22.5⁴. In BHATTACHARYYA’s text the printed वचस्वती (*varcakhati*) be corrected to वचस्वती (*varcasvati*). In pāda *d* BHATTACHARYYA reads *māra* (? ?), whereas the other editions read *māpa* (= *mā* + *apa*). I cannot make out any sense out of the reading *māra* [perhaps *mā* + *ara* (?)]. The latter reading *māpa* is quite intelligible. These pādas be read as :

jihve varcasvati bhava māpa te puruṣo riṣat /

These may be rendered as follows :

‘ O tongue, be vigorous; let your men not be injured ’ !

IV. 26.2². The so-called *Apālā Sūkta* (RV. VIII.91) is repeated almost *ad verbatim* in this hymn. The legendary account of this Sūkta is found in Vedic texts in different versions.²

The editions of BARRET and RAGHU VIRA follow the reading of the RV, whereas BHATTACHARYYA reads in pāda *d* *karambhinam upavadantam ukthinaṁ*. The other editions of the text read *karambhinam apūpavantam ukthinaṁ*. We must correct BHATTACHARYYA’s *karambhinam* to *karambhinam*. Perhaps *upavadantam* refers to the ‘ decrying Soma ’. This verse may be rendered as follows :

1 For detailed description of these practices see e. g. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, commentary on AVŚ IV. 12, pp. 384-5.

2 See e.g. JBI. 220-1; the *Bṛhaddevatā* VI. 99-107; PB IX. 2.14; AVŚ XIV. 1.41 (= RV VIII. 91.7); Mān GSI I. 8.11; Śāh GSI. 15. 6-7; Laugākṣi GS XVI. 3. For details see like RAM GOPAL, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, Delhi (1959), p. 228; “ *Apālā Sūkta* (RV VIII. 91) ”, *VII* II. i, Hoshiarpur (1964), pp. 55-72; GELDNER, *Der Rigveda*, Vol. II (= HOS 34), pp. 413-4; OLDENBERG, *Rgveda Noten* II, pp. 142-3.

‘You manly, who go about watching from house to house, drink this decrying (Soma) pressed out by teeth together with fried grains, porridge and praise-hymns !’¹

IV. 28.2^b. BHATTACHARYYA reads *bhūta devā vṛtratūryeṣu sambhavaḥ*. BARRET’s text reads . . . *sambhuvaḥ*. BARRET (emendation), RAGHU VIRA and also the parallel verse RV I. 106.2 read *śambhuvaḥ*. The reading *sambhavaḥ* with the substantive *devāḥ* (voc. pl.) makes no sense. In this case we will have to accept the reading *śambhuvaḥ* (a nom. pl. form of *śambhū-*). This pāda would mean :

‘Ye gods, be benevolent in the fights concerning Vṛtra’!

IV. 29.1^c. In pāda *a* and in the refrain (pāda *c*) BHATTACHARYYA reads *apaḥ naḥ śeṣucad agham*. Elsewhere he rightly reads *apa* instead of *apaḥ* (see RV I. 97. 1^c-8^c and AVŚ IV. 33. 1^c-8^c). This refrain would mean :

‘Gleaming away our evil’.

IV. 30. 5^b. BHATTACHARYYA’s *viṣṇunā* be corrected to *viṣṇunā*. The text of the pādas *ab* reads: *devāḥ śaraṇakṛtaḥ śaraṇā me bhavata dhruvāyā dīṣo viṣṇunā rājñādhyakṣeṇa*.

I understand these pādas this way:

‘Ye gods, granting shelter, be my shelters with the king Viṣṇu as the superintendent of the fixed quarter’!

IV. 34.3^a. This hymn (= AVŚ IV. 25) is used as praise and prayer to Vāyu and Savitr. The seven hymns AVŚ IV. 23-29 (used in the order AVŚ IV. 23; 25; 27; 26; 28; 29; 24 = AVP IV. 33; 34; 35; 36; 37; 38; 39; respectively) are known by Kauś. 9.1 as the *mṛgāra* hymns. In pāda *c* BHATTACHARYYA’s *vāyoḥ* be corrected to *vāyo*. This seems to be a mere printing error, for he records the variant reading *vāyoḥ* in his f.n.l, which is found in the Mātṛkās and also in the Kashmīrīya Mūlakośa. These pādas mean:

‘Ye, O Vāyu and Savitr, protect creatures—do ye release us from distress’!

1 According to RAM GOPAL, *loc. cit.*, pp. 63-64, all these epithets are used metaphorically. *Jambha-sutam* lit. ‘pressed out by teeth’, but here it means ‘the Soma pressed out between the tooth-like stones of the swift stream’. *Dhānāvāntam* lit. possessed of or together with fried grains’, but in this context ‘(the pressed out Soma) accompanied by small pebbles’. *Karam-bhinam* lit. ‘possessed of or together with porridge’, but metaphorically it signifies ‘(the pressed out Soma) accompanied by porridge (in the form of muddy water)’. *Apupavāntam* lit. ‘together with cakes’ but here ‘accompanied by cake-shaped stones’. Our text reads *upavādantam* lit. ‘decrying’, but metaphorically it refers to ‘the process of pressing out the Soma’. *ukthinam* lit. ‘together with a praise-hymn’, but here ‘accompanied by eulogies in the form of sound produced by waters’.

IV. 34.6^a. Here too like verse 3c *vāyoh* be corrected to *vāyo*. This also appears to be a printing mistake.

IV. 37.4^a. BHATTACHARYY's *vahu* be corrected to *bahu*.

Concluding Remarks

From the foregoing discussions we are led to the following considerations *argumenti causa* :—

- (i) Throughout the text *-d-* or *-l-* is always written as *-r-*, which is very much unwanted. The list of errata is quite inadequate.
- (ii) From some of the discussions it is quite evident that the editor has not shown his sharp and critical acumen.
- (iii) The references to the Kashmirian text as well as to the other Vedic texts are variously irregular.

Finally, we can only say that the late Professor Durgamohan BHATTACHARYYA has unearthed a very rich hidden treasure of materials. We are eagerly looking forward for an immediate publication of the remaining Kāṇḍas.

PHYSICO-MATHEMATICAL CONCEPTS IN THE PURUṢASŪKTAM

By

V. B. CHOLKAR, Baroda

The purpose of the discussion in this paper is to show that :

- (a) *The Central Idea in the Puruṣasūktam (R̥gveda 10.90—1 to 16) is that the universe is a logically evolved systematic structure. It (the Sūkta-hymn) is more temporal in character than metaphysical. Though its language is ritual (Yajñapara), its purpose is essentially cosmogonic; and we find the following*
- (b) *Physico-Mathematical Concepts implied in it :—*
 - (i) There exists a self-existent sphere of cosmic energy, infinite in spatial dimensions and eternal on the time-scale. (Verses I and II.)
 - (ii) A new law for the transformation of energy, suggesting a new constant, probably not yet known to the Physicists, and also the Principle of Conservation of Energy.
(Second half of Verse III and First half of Verse IV).
 - (iii) Orbit of the Sun round the Earth is nearly circular, suggesting :—
 - (a) Geocentric motion of the Sun and
 - (b) a Binding force between the Sun and the Earth, probably Gravitational.

(Verse XV)

There are about six to seven hymns in the *R̥gveda* devoted to the consideration of the evolution and/or creation of the universe. This excludes stray references to the same topic elsewhere in the same Veda. We have in these hymns cosmological and cosmogenic considerations. Among these *Puruṣasūktam* stands out prominently as compared to others. The *Puruṣasūkta* with slight variations finds a place in all the four Vedas. Besides being the main theme of *Mudgalopaniṣad* it is referred to in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* and elsewhere also. The main reason for this prominence, in my opinion, is its scientifically structural and logically systematic approach to the process of the creation of the universe. As is well-known, there is only one universally accepted approach to the logical development of any branch of knowledge, new or old. It may be useful to state, in brief, the basic requirements of such an approach. They are :—

- (i) Undefined Elements (E) i.e. primitive concepts,
- (ii) Laws of operation and/or order (0),
- and (iii) Axioms (A).

We find a definite reference to the first two basic principles in the *R̥gveda*. The relevant reference in the *Aghamarṣaṇasūkta*, (*R̥gveda*, 10.190.1) is

“ ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीक्षात्तपसोध्यजायत । ”

Here the word “*Satyam*” corresponds to ‘Undefined Elements’ (E) and “*Ṛtam*” corresponds to laws of operation and/or of order (O). The word “*Tapas*” corresponding to ‘Axioms’ as suggested by some and appearing elsewhere in the *R̥gveda*, is not mentioned in this hymn. The quotation says that the creator, as and when, thought of creating the universe had to devote himself to intensive thinking. As a result he found the two principles of *Satyam* and *Ṛtam* besides *Tapas* as mentioned above, quite essential for building the structure of the universe. The language of the *Puruṣasūkta* suggests that it belongs to a period later than that of the earlier hymns. Although its style of presentation is the usual ritual (*Yajña*) style, its entire purpose will be shown to be cosmogenic. The composer (*Ṛṣi*) of the hymn is *Nārāyaṇa* and its deity (*Devatā*) is *Puruṣa*.

On the whole the *Sūkta* will be shown to explain the evolution of the universe more as a consequence of the laws of Physics and Mathematics rather than those of metaphysics. It will thus be seen to be a logically evolved systematic structure. We give below, first, the main concepts in each verse of the *Puruṣasūkta* followed later by Notes and Comments on each. *The latter would be seen to be quite essential for a correct appreciation of the concepts in each verse.*

Verse I : A metaphorical description of a Cosmic sphere

सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात् । स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वाऽत्यतिष्ठद् दशाङ्गुलम् ॥ १ ॥

CONCEPTS : There exists a *sphere* of infinite spatial dimensions enveloping the entire universe. It is full of Cosmic energy everywhere. Its origin is unknown and hence it may be said to be self-existent i.e. (*Svayambhū*). It is thus an (E)—Undefined Element—“*Satyam*”. (Vide : Notes and Comments, Verse I).

Verse II : Life of the infinite Cosmic sphere is also infinite.

पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद् भूतं यच्च भव्यम् । उतामृतत्वस्येशानो यदन्नेनातिरोहति ॥ २ ॥

CONCEPTS : To the Cosmic sphere of infinite spatial dimensions of Verse I is attributed a further undefined basic property viz. that it is a witness to all the events of the past, present and future i.e. it is infinite on the time-scale also. Again its immortal existence is guaranteed by the peculiarly perpetual process of transformation of energy (*Annena*) going on within it at every instant of time.

The process of transformation of energy mentioned in this verse and the actual law stated in the next two verses may be said to correspond to the principle of “*Ṛtam*” (O—Law of operation),

the second basic principle required for a logically structural construction of the universe. (Vide: Notes and Comments, Verse II).

Verses III and IV: “(Rtam)” A new law for the transformation of energy and a new constant; also the Principle of Conservation of energy

एतावानस्य महिमाऽतो ज्यायैश्च पूरुषः । पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि ॥ ३ ॥
त्रिपादूर्ध्वं उदैत्पुरुषः पादोऽस्येहाभवत्पुनः । ततो विध्वं व्यकामत् साशनानशने अमि ॥ ४ ॥

CONCEPTS : In addition to the properties of the cosmic *Puruṣa* mentioned above, a still more really important and basically useful property is stated in the second half of Verse III and the first half of Verse IV. *It is a novel law of transformation of energy not yet probably known to the physicists.*

It states :

At any instant, Energy radiated from a nucleus in the Cosmic sphere divided by the Energy remaining behind in the nucleus in the Cosmic sphere

$$= \frac{1/4}{3/4} = \frac{1}{3}, \text{ a Constant.}$$

Cosmic Energy in the sphere remains Constant: (Principle of Conservation of Energy).

Let the total cosmic energy in the sphere be taken to be *unity*. By the law of transformation of energy given in Verse III (second half) and Verse IV (first half), at every stage of transformation, only a quarter gets transformed and three quarters remains behind as a residue. The process of transformation of energy is infinite and continuous. Thus symbolically we have:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Stage No.	Transformed Energy	Residual Energy	Ratio of $\frac{\text{Column (2)}}{\text{Column (3)}}$
I	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4} : \frac{3}{4} = \frac{1}{3}$
II	$\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{4^2}$	$\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{4} = \frac{3}{4^2}$	$\frac{1}{4^2} : \frac{3}{4^2} = \frac{1}{3}$
III	$\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4^2} = \frac{1}{4^3}$	$\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{4^2} = \frac{3}{4^3}$	$\frac{1}{4^3} : \frac{3}{4^3} = \frac{1}{3}$
nth stage	$\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4^{n-1}} = \frac{1}{4^n}$	$\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{4^{n-1}} = \frac{3}{4^n}$	$\frac{1}{4^n} : \frac{3}{4^n} = \frac{1}{3}$

This process is infinite. Thus we have, at every stage of transformation,
Transformed Energy : Residual Energy = 1:3 → Column (4)

$$\text{Again, we have } \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \left(\frac{\text{Transformed}}{\text{Energy}} \right) = \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{4^n} = 0.$$

Also sum of Residual Energies

$$\begin{aligned} &= \frac{3}{4} + \frac{3}{4^2} + \frac{3}{4^3} + \dots \text{ad } \infty \\ &= \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\frac{3}{4} \left(1 - \frac{1}{4^n} \right)}{1 - \frac{1}{4}} = \frac{3/4}{3/4} = 1 \end{aligned}$$

= Original unit energy in the cosmic sphere.

Thus Amṛtatva, the Principle of Conservation of Energy, as stated in the Verse II,

उत्तामृतत्वस्येशानो यदज्ञेनातिरोहति ।

is mathematically proved to be true. .

Since the total energy in the sphere is shown and given to remain constant and only a quarter of it gets transformed at any instant, the ratio $\frac{1}{4}$ obtained above is a perpetually constant ratio.

This law requires further investigation and confirmation at the hands of the physicists. It probably *shows up a New Line of Research*.

This quarter portion of transformed energy alone transforms itself further and further, according to the same law and produces everything living and non-living in this universe. As shown above, it uses itself up entirely in this process of transformation. (Vide : Notes and Comments, Verse III and IV).

Verse V : Birth of the Sun.

तस्माद् विराळजायत विराजो अग्नि पूरुषः । स जातो अत्यरिच्यत पश्चाद् भूमिमथो पुरः ॥ ५ ॥

CONCEPTS : One of the important consequences of transformation of energy is the appearance of the female element (*Virāj*) in the Cosmic sphere. The union of this female element with the original male element in the original *Puruṣa* generates a new lustrous child (new *Virāja-puruṣa*) viz. the *Sūryanārāyaṇa*. It becomes the father of the solar system. In fact, the birth of such a sun occurs at every favourable centre in the Cosmic sphere. This explains the existence of infinite number of Solar Systems in the universe. This accords with reality. Once born, this Sun spreads his lustre before and after i.e. everywhere. Or it may mean that he probably grows in excellence

by following the law of rising in the East (*Purāḥ*) and setting far beyond in the West (*Pascāt bhūmim*).

(Vide : Notes and Comments, Verse V)

The original Cosmic sphere being *Svayambhū* corresponds to a metaphysical or transcendental (*Ādhyātmika*) type of description, *Virāj* corresponds to the Cosmic (*Ādhidaivika*) type, since it is a consequence of the law of transformation of celestial energy and the *Virājapuruṣa* to the temporal (*Ādhibhautika*) type of description, since *Puruṣa* and *Virāj* jointly represent the cause of its appearance, a temporal phenomenon.

(Compare “ *Puruṣasūktam* ” by Pt. Sātavalekar).

Verse VI : Three important Seasons and two useful Crops

यत्पुरुषेण हविषा देवा यज्ञमतन्वत । वसन्तो अस्यासीदाज्यं ग्रीष्म इध्मः शरद् हविः ॥ ६ ॥

CONCEPTS :] The *Devās* whose existence has been already suggested in Verse II and Verse IV (Notes and Comments) performed an experiment (*Yajña*—the *Saṁvatsara-yajña* of one year’s duration) taking the Sun himself as their apparatus in this Cosmic laboratory of infinite dimensions. This experiment consists in the Sun being made to go round the Earth in an orbit (vide *Barhis* in Notes on Verse VIII). The three seasons, Spring, Summer and Autumn respectively represented, as it were, the three elements butter, fuel and food oblation in this *Yajña*. *Nārāyaṇa*, the Composer of this hymn suggests three seasons only, since they are important, from the point of view of this annual sacrifice. In the spring, we have *ājya* i.e. butter which is plentifully produced as *godhana* and is also representative of the food crop produced in that season. The summer representing fuel must generate heat to bring rains (*Varṣā*) and is thus a necessity. The third season autumn (*Śarad*) represents the food to be offered as an oblation in the sacrifice and stands for the whole of the autumnal crop.

(Vide : Notes and Comments, Verse VI)

This indirectly suggests that the composer *Nārāyaṇa* of this hymn must have lived in that part of the world where these three seasons were prominent and where two crops were produced every year.

Verse VII : Sun in orbit with his creative strength enhanced.

तं यज्ञं बर्हिषि प्रौक्षन् पुरुषं जातमग्रतः । तेन देवा अयजन्त साध्या ऋषयश्च ये ॥ ७ ॥

CONCEPTS : The *Devās*, *Sādhyās* and *Ṛṣis* whose appearance is suggested in Verse II and Verse IV (see Notes etc.), placed the Sun in his orbit

and enhanced his efficiency by showering some powerful divine secretion, which also was probably generated in the process of transformation of energy. This enhanced his efficiency and made him competent for the process of the creation and growth of the Solar System, as suggested in the verses which follow.

(Vide : Notes and Comments, Verse VII).

Verses VIII and X : सूर्यः आत्मा जगतः तस्थुषश्च ।

तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वहुतः संभृतं पृषदाज्यम् । पशून् तौश्वक्रे वायव्यानारण्यान् प्राप्स्याथ ये ॥ ८ ॥

तस्माद्वा अजायन्त ये के चोभयादतः । गावो ह जज्ञिरे तस्मात् तस्माज् जाता अजाचयः ॥ १० ॥

CONCEPTS : Creation of a mystic liquid and consequent generation of some living species of animals like Horses, Cows, Goats, Sheep, those with teeth below and above and those moving in the air, forest and village. (Vide : Notes and Comments, Verse VII).

(Since Verses IX, X, XI, XII, XIII and XIV are considered simple enough, no Notes & Comments have been given).

Verse IX

तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वहुत ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे । छन्दांसि जज्ञिरे तस्माद् यजुस् तस्मादजायत ॥ ९ ॥

CONCEPTS : In the process of evolution was created the science of words, poetry and music; literature and knowledge in the form of the four Vedas. This suggests that the *Puruṣasūkta* appeared after the four Vedas.

Verses XI and XII

यत् पुरुषं व्यदधुः कतिधा व्यकल्पयन् । मुखं किमस्य कौ बाहू का ऊरु पादा उच्येते ॥ ११ ॥

ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः । ऊरु तस्य यद् वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ॥ १२ ॥

CONCEPTS : Further four classes of people essential for a smooth and stable social order were created. These four classes viz. *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Sūdra* respectively representing metaphorically the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the creator Sun came to be determined in the society not by birth but by the nature of the several functions, necessary for the stability of the human society. This explains their correspondence to the different functional parts of the Solar body.

The mention of the existence and division of the society into four classes suggests that the *Puruṣasūkta* was composed after this type of classification of the society.

Verse XIII

चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश् चक्षोः सूर्यो अजायत । मुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश् च प्राणाद् वायुरजायत ॥ १३ ॥

CONCEPTS : Creation of the mind, *Tejas*, *Indra*, *Agni*, *Vāyu* and their deities.

Verse XIV

नाभ्या आसीदन्तरिक्षं शीर्ष्णो द्यौः समवर्तत । पद्भ्यां भूमिर्दिशः श्रोत्रात् तथा लोकाँ अकल्पयन् ॥ १४ ॥

CONCEPTS ; It suggests the creation of air, sky, earth and the quarters, as metaphorically represented by the different parts of the body of the *Virājapuruṣa* (*Sūrya*).

Verse XV : Nearly circular orbit of the Sun, Geocentric motion of the Sun and a binding force between the Sun and the Earth.

सप्तस्यासन् परिधयस् त्रिः सप्त समिधः कृताः ।

देवा यद् यज्ञं तन्वाना अबध्नन् पुरुषं पशुम् ॥ १५ ॥

CONCEPTS : The exact relation between the circumference of a circle and its diameter is :

“Circumference of a circle = $\pi \times$ Its diameter.” The first approximation to π is the figure 3. Hence if the orbit is *nearly* circular, we have circumference of a nearly circular orbit = $3 \times$ Its mean diameter, *nearly*.

Verse XV suggests for the orbit of the Sun round the Earth,
 $7 \times \text{Paridhi}$ (i.e. circumference) = (3×7) *Samidh*.

$\therefore \text{Paridhi} = 3 \times \text{Samidh}$, suggesting that the yearly orbit of the Sun round the Earth is *nearly* circular.

This also suggests the geocentric motion of the Sun round the Earth.

Again the Sun was compelled by *Devās* to move in a closed orbit round the earth because of some binding force between the two (“*Abadhnan Puruṣam Paśum*”). This is borne out by the Law of Gravitational attraction in Mechanics. (Vide : Notes and Comments, Verse XV).

Verse XVI : Karmayoga leading to a position of highest bliss.

यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवास् तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् ।

ते ह नाकं महिमानः सचन्त यत्र पूर्वे साध्याः सन्ति देवाः ॥ १६ ॥

CONCEPTS : This verse indicates that the primary duty of the intellectuals (*Devās*) was to keep themselves always busy (i. e. to become *Karmayogīs* performing one experiment after another. This enabled them, as a consequence, to reach the higher position already attained by their leaders *Sādhyās*, senior *Devās* in the firmament i.e. they attained the position of highest bliss. (Vide : Notes and Comments, Verse XVI).

Looking to the times of *Nārāyaṇa*, the composer of the *Puruṣasūkta* and also the extent of the temporal perspective which his society must have had then, it would be quite appropriate, if one feels like admiring his insight into the cosmological and cosmogenic aspects of the universe and its systematically logically built structure, as suggested by him.

I have to express here my grateful thanks to servral of my learned friends, who by their helpful criticism and useful suggestions, have done much to improve this paper.

Notes and Comments

Verse I (*Satyam*)

Sahasra : Infinite. Compare :

रंगनाथभाष्यम्-‘सहस्रशब्दोऽनन्तवाची।’;

भगवद्गीता-“अनन्तबाहूदरवक्त्रनेत्रम्।”

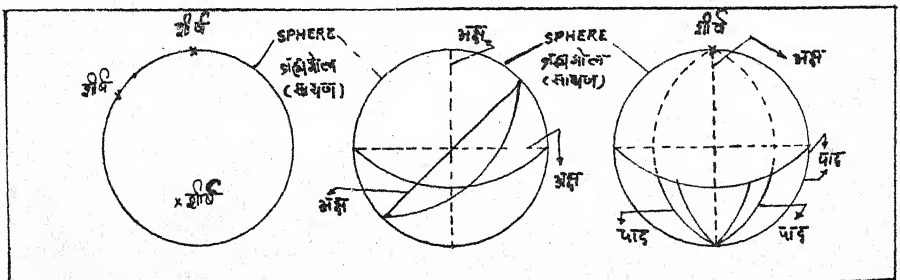
Śīrṣan : Point ; apex : शीर्षश्छन्दसि (*Pāṇini* : 6.160)

Puruṣah : “तेनेदं पूर्णं पुरुषेण सर्वम्” इति श्रुतिः।; पूर्णत्वात्पुरुषः।”

This suggests that the word *Puruṣa* is to be taken here to mean ‘a live model full of Cosmic energy.’

Akṣa : axis ; axle (*Rgveda* : 1.166.9; 10.30.14 etc.)

Pād : ‘One quarter portion’ Here it specifically means ‘a quadrant of a circle’, as taken by *Āryabhaṭṭa* and later writers on Astronomy. (*pādaḥ* becomes *pāt-d* at the end of a *Bahuvrihi* compound *Pāṇini*, 5.4.138). The interpretations given above definitely go to suggest that the *Puruṣa* can have only the form of a geometrical sphere. (See the diagrams below)—*Brahmagola* of *Sāyaṇa*.



Bhūmi : Space, as suggested by *Sāyaṇa*, since he uses the word *brahmāṇḍa-golarūpām* for explaining the word *bhūmim*. He means that the *gola* (sphere) is *brahmāṇḍagola* meaning that it envelops the whole space (*bhūmim*). But he fails to indicate that the *sūktakāra* metaphorically describes the model of a geometrical sphere alone to correspond to *Puruṣa*. Since, by the *Śrutivacana* for *Puruṣa* quoted above, this sphere

(*Puruṣa*) is everywhere full and as will be seen from the verses which follow, is active at every instant of time, the only possible meaning we can have is that the interior space within the sphere is entirely occupied by Cosmic energy.

Atyatiṣṭhat : extended beyond. *Viśvataḥ* : Everywhere (*Sarvataḥ*)

Vṛtvā : Having enveloped, (*vyāpya*).

Daśāṅgulaḥ : Peterson remarks : “ The word *Daśāṅgulaḥ* does not occur elsewhere in the *Rgveda*.

Raṅganāthamuni suggests the following acceptable derivation (*Nirukti*) for this word in his *Puruṣasūktabhāṣyam*. He says

“ दश देशानन्तयोः ” इत्यस्मादच् प्रत्ययः । “ अगि कोटियोजनयोः ”

इत्यस्मादौणादिक उलच् प्रत्ययः । दशाङ्गुलशब्दोऽनन्तयोजनवचनः ॥

i.e. the word *Daśāṅgula* stands for “ infinite distance.”

मुद्रालोपनिषत् : “ अनन्तयोजनं प्राह दशाङ्गुलवचस्तथा । ”

सायणः “ दशाङ्गुलमित्युपलक्षणम् । ब्रह्माण्डाद्बहिरपि सर्वतो व्याप्यावस्थित इत्यर्थः । ”

Thus it means that the *Puruṣa*—sphere full of Cosmic energy—extends far beyond any measurable (i.e. finite) distance. Hence it has infinite spatial dimensions.

Again since the origin and/or existence of this infinite sphere is not shown to be dependent on any other source elsewhere in this or any other hymn of *Rgveda*, it must be taken to be self-existent *Svayambhū*. Hence it must correspond to an “ undefined element ” i.e. *Satyam* in the logical structure of the universe. For explanation of the word *Svayambhū*, refer to *Notes and Comments on Verse V*,

Verse II (*Rtam*)

Yat bhūtam : whatever was i.e. the entire past.

Yat bhavyam : (Better *Bhāvya*m as in the *Vājasaneyīsamhitā*)—whatever shall be i.e. the entire futurity.

Uta : and ; besides. *Amṛitatva*—Immortality. *Īśhānah*—Lord.

Annam : *Adyate yattadannam*—Everything that is eaten is *annam*.

Atirohati : But *annam* becomes useful only since it transforms itself into energy. Hence *annam* may be taken to correspond to the transformed energy. is perpetuated ; grows ; is nourished. The clause *Yadannenātirohati* is an adjectival clause. It may be taken to be along with

(i) इदं सर्वं यद् भूतं यच्च भव्यम्, (यत् च) अन्नेनातिरोहति
or with

(ii) अमृतत्वम्-यदमृतत्वम् अन्नेन अतिरोहति ।

In case (i) we can take *anna* to mean 'sacrificial i.e. 'Cosmic food' which by transformation ultimately gives birth to *Deva*, *Sādhya*, *Ṛṣi*, in fact to everything living (*sāśana*) and non-living (*anaśana*) of a material form. [*Sāyaṇā*, Grassmann, Ludwig, Agrawala and other Vedic scholars]. Compare :

“अन्नाद् भवन्ति भूतानि ।” (भगवद्गीता)

In case (ii) the process of transformation of energy itself is conducive to the existence of the perpetual i.e. non-decaying energy of the Cosmic sphere. Thus the total cosmic energy in the Cosmic sphere being perpetual always outgrows i.e. exceeds and includes, in fact, the part transformed—(Peterson, Macdonell, *Vājasaneyisaṁhitā*, *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* etc.).

Thus we shall conveniently use later both the meanings, as and when, required. In fact both are indeed required for correctly interpreting later verses (e.g. verses III, IV, V, VIII, XV and XVI).

Verse III and Verse IV : (Ṛtam).

Pādaḥ : a quarter portion. *Viśvam* : In all fields.

Bhūta : Born ; existent. *Vyākramat* : occupied ; engulfed.

Sāśana : Living thing (i.e. one which has in it *Prāṇa* the transformed energy).

Anaśana : non-living thing (i.e. one which has no *Prāṇa* in it but only the transformed energy).

Verse V (Ṛtam).

Tasmāt : From the transformed i.e. quarter part of the total energy.

Virāj : a female element.

मुद्गलोपनिषत् : तस्माद्विराडित्यनया पादनारायणाद्धरेः ।

प्रकृतेः पुरुषस्यापि समुत्पत्तिः प्रदर्शिता ॥ ५ ॥

V. S. Agrawala (Vedic Lectures, pp. 170-171.) says:

“In this context, three categories should be clearly distinguished, the first is *Svayambhū*, the second is *Virāj* and the third is *Virājapuruṣa*. The first is the father, the second is the mother and the third is the son. Both the first two are unmanifest, but the son as *Sūrya* and *Vaiśvānara* is manifest.

There is also another pair of names preserved in the conception of *Nārāyaṇapuruṣa*, often explained in the *Purāṇās* and the *Bhāgavata* tradition. According to this the father principle *Svayambhū* is called *Nara*, the mother principle *Virāj* is called *Nāra* and the offspring produced by the union of these two is called *Nārāyaṇa* who is the same as *Sūrya*, *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Manu*, *Agni*, *Indra*, *Prāṇa* etc.”

Virājo Adhi : Out of the female element.

- Adhi* : governs the locative case. *Virājah* though genitive singular of *Virāj* is used here in the sense of the locative, (*Śeṣe śaṣṭhī*).
- Atiric* : (generally used in the passive voice.) Transcended ; reached beyond.

Verse VI

- Yajñah* : An experiment (literally, an act of worship) of one year's duration. (*Puruṣa*—i.e. *Sūrya-yajña* is a *Samvatsarayajña*, as is well-known from Astronomy).

- Atanvata* : Performed (extended over a year). Imperfect 3rd person plural of *Tan*, 8th Conj Atm. — ' to extend '.

- Devāḥ* : Intelligent persons capable of performing big cosmic experiments in the universal cosmic laboratory.

Again it may be usefully remarked here that the *Sādhyās* (Verses VII and XVI) represent the senior leaders (forefathers) of the *Deva* class, and *Ṛṣis* (Verses VII and XVI) represent persons with intuition (*Draṣṭārah—Sāyaṇabhāṣyam*), so very essential for making appropriate suggestions for the successful performance and outcome of any experiment.

The appearance of *Devās*, *Sādhyās* and *Ṛṣis*, earlier even than that of the Sun, has been already suggested in Verse II. They must be there much earlier in the cosmic laboratory, mature enough to have the capacity to perform an experiment on a vast cosmic scale on even the Sun.

- Havis* : Means for performing the *Sūryayajña* i.e. an apparatus for performing an experiment on the Sun.

- Puruṣa* : The Sun. *Ājyam* : Butter (Ghee).

- Idhmaḥ* : Fuel for sacrifice.

- Śarat haviḥ* : Autumnal Crop to be used as an oblation in the *Samvatsarayajña*.

- Ranganathamuni* : in his *Puruṣasūktabhāṣyam* on

- (i) आज्यम्—वसन्तकालस्य भूमिष्ठतृणशाद्वलतया गवां पयः प्रसूतिनिमित्तत्वात् स (वसन्तः) एव आज्यमासीत् इत्युक्तम् । आयुर्धृतमितिवत् ।
- (ii) इध्मः—ग्रीष्मस्य प्रपतितपर्णत्वात् इध्मत्वोक्तिः ।
- (iii) शरत् हविः—शरदृतुः पुरोडाशाख्यं हविरासीत् । निष्पन्नव्रीहियवादिसस्यतया पुरोडाशयोग्यत्वेन हविष्ट्वोक्तिः ।

Verse VII

- Barhis* : A bed or layer of Kuśa grass, usually, strewn over the sacrificial ground and especially over the Vēdi, to serve as a sacred surface on

which to present the oblations, and is a seat for the Gods and for the sacrifices.

This suggests that the most appropriate meaning for our purposes would be "the seat (i.e. orbit) of the Sun."

Praukṣan : Having showered or sprinkled.

The author of the hymn is silent about the divine liquid with which the Sun was to be sprinkled for enhancing and perpetuating his power of creation.

In a way, the reading *prāvarṣā*, with rain water—of the *Atharvaveda* in place of *Barhiṣi* is better, since it goes well with *praukṣan*. But V. S. Agrawala in his *Vedic Lectures* (pp. 174-175) says—

"*Barhiṣ* is strewn on the altar of sacrifice representing as it were the intricate grid for the flow of energy and secretions. The whole mechanism of organic life consists of minute cellular structure whose biological efficiency is derived from the sap or secretions which saturate them and are known to us under so many specific names as *Rasātma*kasoma".

"पुष्णामि चौषधीः सर्वाः सोमो भूत्वा रसात्मकः ।" (भगवद्गीता-15.13).

So *Barhiṣi praukṣan* can be conveniently taken to mean "having sprinkled over the Sun in his orbit, a power-giving divine liquid."

Tam yajñam puruṣam may be construed as *tam puruṣam yajñam iti* i.e. using the Sun (*puruṣa*) as if he were an oblation in the sacrifice (since the *yajña* here is the *puruṣayajña* i.e. *Saurayajña* of one year's duration).

Devāḥ :—See Verse VI.

साध्याः : "सृष्टि-साधनयोग्याः प्रजापतिप्रभृतयः ।"—(सायणभाष्यम्)

ऋषयः : "मंत्रद्रष्टारः"—(सायणभाष्यम्)
—(Seers).

Verse VIII

Sarvahutah Yajñāt : As a consequence of the experiment on the Sun having been satisfactorily and entirely completed.

Sambhṛtam : Collected.

Prṣadājyam : Literally it means "ghee mixed with coagulated milk." Here it means a kind of liquid of a peculiar colour, helpful for the creation of the world.

योगरत्नम्—"अत्र तु सृज्यप्राणिजननहेतुभूतं विचित्रवर्णं जगत्कारणहेतुभूतम् वीर्यं पृषदाज्यम् भवति ।"

शतपथब्राह्मण (3.4.8.8.)—“अन्नं हि पृषदाज्यम्, प्राणो हि पृषदाज्यम्, पयः पृषदाज्यम्।”

“पशवो वै पृषदाज्यम्।” (तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण, 1.6.3.2)

Verse XV

Paridhiḥ : Circumference of a circle (see *Sūryasiddhānta*, *Bṛhatsamhitā* of *Varāhamihira* etc.).

Samidh : Dry sticks as fuel in a sacrifice.

Kṛtaḥ : Made up of ; equal to.

For every *Yajña*, the shape and size of its *Kuṇḍa* is prescribed. The measurements for the *Kuṇḍa* and the lengths of the *Samidh* are stated in terms of *Angula*, a unit for measuring lengths. (For example, refer to the thesis on *Atharvaparīṣiṣṭa* (pages 426, 432, 116, 118 by B. R. Modak, 1959, Poona University.)

Bandh : To be bound to ; to compel to do.

Paśuḥ : *Paśyatīti Paśuḥ*—one who sees everything.

Here *Puruṣam paśum* means the Sun who sees everything. Compare.

“पशवो वै सविता।” (शतपथ ब्राह्मण 3.2.3.11.)

Devā yadyajñam tanvānāḥ :—As the *Devās* performed the experiment.

Verse XVI

Dharman : Duty (*Karmayogaḥ*) *Mahiman* : One possessing greatness.

Sac : (1st Conj. Atm. ; 3rd Conj. Parasm.) to follow ; to go after.

Nāka : Heaven (i.e. here, place for securing the highest form of happiness).

References

- (1) “*Puruṣasūktabhāṣyam*” (*Raṅganātha Muni*, 1955, Adyar Publications, Madras)
- (2) “*Ṛk Samhitā with Sāyaṇabhāṣyam*”
- (3) A. A. Macdonell : “A Vedic Reader for Students”
- (4) Vasudev Saran Agrawala : “Vedic Lectures”, (May-June, 1960.)
- (5) Dharma Deva Mehta : “Some Positive Sciences in the Vedas”, 1959, Academy of Vedic Researches, Delhi
- (6) B. N. Seal : “Some Positive Sciences of Ancient Hindus.” (1915, Longmans Green and Co., 1958, Motilal Banarasi Dass)
- (7) R. V. Vaidya : “Astronomical Light on Vedic Culture”, 1964, Makaranda Sahitya, Bombay
- (8) Pt. Sātavalekar : “*Puruṣasūkta*”, 1966, Pardi Dist. Bulsar
- (9) Monier Williams : “Sanskrit English Dictionary”.

- (10) B. R. Modak: "Thesis on *Atharvaparīṣiṣṭa*", 1959, (Poona University—Jaykar Library)—not printed
- (11) N. J. Shende: "The *Puruṣa Sūkta* (Rg. X. 90) in Vedic Literature", 1959 (Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, No. 4, Class A, University of Poona)
- (12) "*Rgveda-Marāṭhī Translation*" (M. M. Siddheśwaraśāstrī Citrāva)
- (13) तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण
- (14) शतपथब्राह्मण
- (15) योगरत्नम्
- (16) वाजसनेयिसंहिता ; अथर्ववेद ; सामसंहिता
- (17) मुद्गग्लोपनिषत्
- (18) श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषत्

THE VṚTTIKĀRA IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA GṚHYA KĀRIKĀ*

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1. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Kārikā* (*AGK*), which is ascribed to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa,¹ states at the very outset (viz. in the very 1st verse) that it describes in brief the *prayoga* of the Gṛhya rituals of the *Āśvalāyanas*, as recorded in the works of the Vṛttikāra and others.² Later, in two of its verses, i.e. in *AGK* 1.18.11 and 4.1.20,³ it refers to a certain Vṛtti (on the Gṛhya Sūtra) as that of Nārāyaṇa. It is only likely, therefore, that one would be inclined to take all references in the *AGK* to the Vṛttikāra as references to Nārāyaṇa, the commentator of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (*AGS*). Actually, Purushottama Shastri RANADE, the editor of the *AGS*,⁴ maintains that the author of the *AGK* wrote his work following the Vṛtti of this Nārāyaṇa.⁵ The commentator of the *AGK* also has identified the Vṛttikāra often with Nārāyaṇa, while he explained the Vṛttikāra's views quoted in the *AGK*.⁶ But it would not be correct to

* Paper submitted to the All India Oriental Conference, XXVI, Ujjain (1972).

1 Ed. Purushottama Shastri RANADE, Anandashrama Sanskrit Series No. 105, pp. 184-223, Poona (1936).

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa is not accepted as the author of the *AGK* by all. Cf. "I am...inclined to believe that these Kārikās...are to be ascribed to Kumārasvāmī and not to Kumārila..." VELANKAR. *Descriptive Catalogue of Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta Manuscripts in the BBRAS*, Vol. II, Bombay (1928), p. 203.

2 Read *AGK* 1.1.1:

आश्वलायनमाचार्यं नत्वा तद्गृह्यकर्माणाम् ।

प्रयोगं वच्मि संक्षेपाद् वृत्तिकारादिशंसितम् ॥

This discussion overlooks the fact that the *AGK* refers to the Vṛttikāra as the Vṛttikṛt also.

3 References to the *AGK* are respectively to the Adhyāya, the Khaṇḍa and the Verse.

4 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (together with Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti, *Gṛhyaparīṣiṣṭa* and the *AGK*), Anandashrama Sanskrit Series No. 105, Poona (1936).

5 Cf. *AGS op. cit.*, प्रास्ताविकं किञ्चित्, p. 4.:

सूत्रकारहृदयाकृताविष्करणे पटीयसीयं नारायणी नाम वृत्ति ।...कुमारिलभट्टेन

प्रकृतसूत्रवृत्त्यनुरोधेनषट्पदवशतसंख्याकाः कारिका व्याधायिषत ।

Also read the commentator's remark on *AGK* 1.1.1.

तत्रादावाश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रमात्रेणैवाल्पव्युत्पत्तिमतम् अध्ययनैकदेशस्पर्शिणां तदुक्ततत्कर्मनिर्वाहो दुस्तर इति वृत्तिकृन्नायणो वृत्तिमकरोत् । तामेव पुरस्कृत्य सूत्रार्थानुकूलान् जयन्तादीन्विचार्य कारिकाकारः क्रमेणैतिकर्तव्याताकारिणीं कारिकां चकार...

fol. 1 of the Ms (No. 1497) of the *AGK* in the Bhandarkar collection of Mss in the University of Bombay.

6 Also cf. VELANKAR, *Descriptive Catalogue etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

hold such a view, since one has reasons to understand that, in quite a few places, the *AGK* refers to some other person as the *Ṛttikāra*.

2. *AGK* 1.2.18-20 refers to the *pātrāsādana* 'setting down the sacrificial utensils' which is an optional part of the *Sthālipāka* 'offering of food cooked in a pot' and mentions a verse as of *Bhagavat* 'revered' *Ṛttikāra*. This verse, which prescribes the order in which the utensils are to be placed on *darbhas* 'sacrificial grass,' beside the fire, reads:

दर्भेषूत्तरतो द्वन्द्वं पात्राणि न्यञ्चि सादयेत् ॥ १८ ॥

युग्मान्प्रादेशमात्रांश्च पूर्वान्प्रान्सर्वदिक्ष्वपि ।

तत्क्रमं भगवानाह श्लोकेनैकेन वृत्तिकृत्¹ ॥ १९ ॥

स्थालीं चरोः प्रोक्षणभाजनं च दर्वोस्तुवौ सादय दर्विहोमे ।

पात्रं प्रणितार्थमथाज्यपात्रमिध्मं क्रमेण क्रमवित्कुशैश्च² ॥ २० ॥

This quotation in the *AGK* appears to show that the *Ṛttikāra* considers the *pātrāsādana* as a compulsory part of the *Sthālipāka*. But such does not appear to be the view of *Nārāyaṇa*, the commentator of the *AGS*, for he writes on *AGS* 1.3.3:

...तेन ज्ञायते 'शास्त्रान्तरदृष्टानामविरोधिनां पात्रासादनमिच्छातः क्रिया' इति । इत्थं हि शास्त्रान्तरे दृष्टम् । परिस्तरणकाले उत्तरतोऽग्नेः कांश्चिद्दर्भानास्तीर्य ब्रह्मवत्सु कर्मसु दक्षिणतोऽग्नेरपि कांश्चिद्दर्भानास्तीर्य ततोऽग्निं पर्युक्ष्य उदग्नेर्दर्भेषु द्वन्द्वं न्यञ्चि पात्राण्यासादयति उभाभ्यां पाणिभ्याम् । अयं पात्रासादनक्रमः—

'प्रोक्षणपात्रमथ सुवयुक्तं पात्रमपां प्रणयनाय विशिष्टम् ।

भाजनमाज्यहविर्ग्रहणार्थं त्विध्ममथो परिसादय दर्भान् ॥'

इति, आज्यहोमेषु । दर्वोस्तु तु कर्मस्वयं क्रमः—

'स्थालीं चरोः क्रमवित्कुशैश्च ॥'³

It is apparent here that the *AGK* refers only to the second verse above as the verse of the *Ṛttikāra* and this might indicate that the author of the *AGK* is referring to somebody else than *Nārāyaṇa*.⁴ The remarks of *Jayanta* (*svāmin*), which pertain to the *pātrāsādana* are here useful in deciding whom the author of the *AGK* has in mind. *Jayanta* writes:

1 The commentator reads *मन्त्रावित्* in the place of *वृत्तिकृत्* and explains it as *मन्त्रविज्ञारायणः*; cf. fol. 16 of the *Ms op. cit.*

2 The *Vimalodayamālā* of *Jayantasvāmin* (Now under print) reads *कुशैश्च* in the place of *कुशैश्च* p. 11.

3 Cf. *AGS.*, p. 8.

4 Perhaps the author of the *AGK* refers only to this verse since, he might think, it has a wider application.

ये पात्रासादनमिच्छन्ति तेषामयं प्रयोगक्रमः । ...स्थालीपाकवत्सु कर्मसु स्थालीं चरोः प्रोक्षणपात्रं च सादयति । ...अग्निशर्मोपाध्यायमतानुसारेणैवं मया लिखितम् । तथा च—

तस्यैवेमौ पात्रासादनप्रयोगप्रतिपादनपरौ श्लोकौ पठ्येते ।

and

प्रोक्षणपात्रमथ.....दर्भान् ॥

स्थालीं चरोः.....कमवित्कुशांश्च ॥¹

This shows that Jayanta did not think that the *pātrāsādana* was a compulsory part of the *Sthālīpāka*. Further, he mentioned Agniśarman's opinion since it was much honoured during his days and he did not object to it, following the accepted mode of incorporating into the ritual of his own school the practices of other schools also—as stated in Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti in 'शास्त्रान्तरवृद्धानां....इच्छातः क्रिया'.

What follows from this is that the author of the *AGK*, who has utilised the works of the Vṛttikāra, Nārāyaṇa and Jayanta² and has recorded their different points of view, must have in mind of Agniśarman while he discussed the *Sthālīpāka* with the *pātrāsādana* as a compulsory part of it. It is, therefore, held that Agniśarman had written an extensive Vṛtti on the *AGS* and it was held possible to by all the followers of the Āśvalāyana tradition as much authoritative as the work of Jayanta may be at times even more, since the author of the *AGK* has cited the Vṛttikāra's view in preference to any other.

3. Again, there are some two verses in the *AGK* which appear to quote the opinion of the Vṛttikāra and what thus appear as quotations are not noticed in Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti *ad verbatim*. Thus :

(i) *AGK* 1.18.11, while discussing the *Samāvartana* rite, reads :

आयुष्यमिति सूक्तेन मणिं कण्ठे प्रबध्य च ।

सुवर्णमय इष्टोऽत्र मणिरित्याह वृत्तिकृतः ॥

And Nārāyaṇa's comment on the relevant *AGS* 3.8.16 reads only मणिः सुवर्णमयः³ and differs from 'सुवर्णमय इष्टोऽत्र मणिः'. Again, the commentary on *AGK* 1.18.11, which quotes the view of the Vṛttikāra thus :

अत्र मणिशब्देन सुवर्णमणिरित्यभिधीयते इति वृत्तिकारः ॥⁴

brings out the difference between Nārāyaṇa and the Vṛttikāra yet more clearly.

(ii) *AGK* 1.2.1.2, while discussing the point of time since when the house-holder should begin the performance of the *Sthālīpāka*, states:

1 The *Vimalodayamālā*, *op.*, *cit.*, pp. 10-11

2 References to Jayanta in the *AGK* are: 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 15, 40; 3.1.13; 4. 1-5, 5.4; 10.1-4, 22.17, 27.7, 33.6; 2.10.17; 3.12.11 and 4.1.8.

Read also the commentary on *AGK* 1.1.1 (cited above in note 2): आदिशब्दाज्जयन्तः शौनकश्च; cf. foll. 1-2 of the *Ms. op. cit.*

3 Cf. *AGS*, p. 97.

4 Cf. fol. 82 of the *Ms. op. cit.*

गृहवेशीयहोमाद्या पौर्णमास्यागमिष्यति ।

तस्यां तं प्रारम्भेतेति वृत्तिकारेण भाषितम् ॥ 1

And Nārāyaṇa's comment on the relevant AGS 1.10.1 reads:

विवाहादनन्तरं या पौर्णमासी तस्यामस्य प्रथमः प्रारम्भः । 2

It may be pointed out here that Nārāyaṇa's comment compares better with Jayanta who writes:

विवाहादनन्तरं या पौर्णमासी तस्यामस्य कर्मणः प्रथमः प्रारम्भः । 3

and thus very clearly differs from the Vṛttikāra who appears to be quoted in the AGK.

Both these instances go to support the possibility that there existed some Vṛtti beside Nārāyaṇa's and it was, it may be reiterated, composed by Agniśarman.

4. Yet one more verse in the AGK may be taken as quotation from the Vṛttikāra and the words in this supposed quotation are noticed to differ from Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti. Thus AGK 1.1.13 reads:

‘नैके काञ्चनपक्षोऽयं चौलादावाश्रितो यदा ॥

तदाम्रिन्द्र इत्याद्या होतव्याः’ इति वृत्तिकृत् ॥

Apparently, this is the Vṛttikāra's explanation of the *paribhāṣā* ‘rule of interpretation’ in AGS 1.3.8.

अम्रिन्द्रः प्रजापतिर्विश्वेदेवा ब्रह्मेत्यानादेशे ।

Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti on this Sūtra reads:

यत्र होमस्यानादेशः कर्मणश्चादेशस्तत्रैता देवता होतव्याः । कुत्र । जातकर्मादौ । तर्हि रथारोहणेऽपि स्यात् । एवं तर्ह्यान्यथा व्याख्यास्यामः । यत्र होमश्चोद्यते न मन्त्रश्चौलकर्मादौ ‘नैके काञ्चन’ पक्षे तत्रैताभ्यो देवताभ्यो जुहोति मन्त्रानादेश इतीयमेव व्याख्यां साध्वी । 4

Nārāyaṇa's comment follows (or rather, justifies) the commentary of Devaśvāmin,⁵ as is clear from the concluding words.

The AGK intends to cite an authoritative view and not one which is only a borrowing from another source. As such, the authoritative view of the Vṛttikāra which is mentioned in the AGK cannot be the view of Nārāyaṇa nor can it be of Devaśvāmin who has written a Bhāṣya on the AGS (and not a Vṛtti). Also it may not be wrong to suppose that both Devaśvāmin and Nārāyaṇa were

1 The Commentary on the AGK reads वृत्तिकारादिसाधितम् in place of वृत्तिकारेण भाषितम् cf. fol. 9 of the Ms *op. cit.*

2 Cf. AGS, p. 24.

3 Cf. The *Vimalodayamālā*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

4 Cf. AGS, p. 10.

5 Read the introductory verse of Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti on AGS, p. 1.

आश्वलायनमाचार्यं प्रणिपत्य जगद्गुरुम् ।

देवत्वामिप्रसादेन क्रियते वृत्तिरीदृशी ॥

conversant with an earlier Vṛttikāra who could very well be Agnīsarman, as pointed out earlier.

5. Again it is possible to argue that there are places in the *AGK* where the reference to the Vṛttikāra can be understood as the reference to Nārāyaṇa, even if his name is not specifically mentioned. Thus *AGK* 1.2.10-12; 13.18; 18.21; 2.7.12 and 10.17 mention such views of the Vṛttikāra as undoubtedly and wholly agree Nārāyaṇa's comment on the relevant *AGS* 1.20.10; 2.5.8. 3.9 2; 4.4.6; and 4.7.4. One may therefore, conclude that the Vṛttikāra in these places at least is Nārāyaṇa. But this argument can be answered by pointing out the possibility that Nārāyaṇa himself might have borrowed from an earlier Vṛttikāra—such a possibility is already noticed in the foregoing discussion.

In this context, another point deserves attention; most of these verses of the *AGK* speak of differences between Jayanta and the Vṛttikāra. Already it is pointed out how Jayanta and the Vṛttikāra Agnīsarman differed and also how Nārāyaṇa appears to have followed the lead of Agnīsarman (even through Devasvāmin). As such, the disagreements between the Vṛttikāra and Jayanta may be taken as obtaining between Agnīsarman and Jayanta and Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti on these passages (supported almost everywhere by its model, viz. Devasvāmin's Bhāṣya)¹ can be reasonably taken to provide a version of an earlier authority, viz. Agnīsarman.

6. Before concluding, it is necessary to note how much help one could derive from the Bhāṣya of Devasvāmin which is occasionally mentioned in this discussion. It is noticed that Devasvāmin's comments on the Grhya Sūtras, which are relevant upon the Vṛttikāra's views in *AGK* 1.1.13; 13.18; 20.9; 2.5.9 and, 25.3.8 show resemblance with Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti on them and it is, therefore, likely that both Devasvāmin and Nārāyaṇa might be following one common authority of earlier time. But while Devasvāmin does not say anything about the Vṛttikāra's views in *AGK* 1.2.2, 10-12; 3.1.3; 8.16; 9.2; 4.4.6 and, 18.11, 21, 26. Nārāyaṇa's comment shows agreement with them. As such, it may not be wrong to say that Nārāyaṇa follows the lead of an earlier Vṛttikāra, even without mentioning or controverting, Devasvāmin's silence about them.

This might incidentally explain why Nārāyaṇa is altogether silent about Jayanta. Indeed, it can be shown (i) that he has often controverted the views of Jayanta and favoured those which stood in opposition to them; and (ii) that Nārāyaṇa has sometimes taken his cue from Devasvāmin. All this would point to a certain tradition of the Āśvalāyanas which ran from Agnīsarman to Nārāyaṇa and stood in contrast with another tradition which began with Jayanta.

1 The word almost (in the brackets) points to absence of some views of Nārāyaṇa, which the *AGK* mentions as those of Vṛttikāra, in Devasvāmin's Bhāṣya; e.g. The *AGK* 1.2.10-12 mentions Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti, but Devasvāmin does not say anything about it.

THE KING AND THE DICE

A Study in the Rituals of the Rājasūya

By

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Prologue : Purpose of the Study

In our study in the rituals of the Aśvamedha¹ we have seen that there developed a gulf of difference between the basic and sophisticated forms of the Vedic *Yajñas* or sacrifices, that the original principles of sacrifice did not differ essentially from those of magic and that, with the change in the technique of production resulting in the rise of class society and state power on the ruins of tribal equality, primitive magic transformed itself into the esoteric art of the ruling or privileged class. We have also seen that the general character of the Vedic texts reflects a society based upon class division, although here and there in the same texts are found relics of an undifferentiated pre-class society through which the Vedic tribes had to pass their earlier stages, and in view of this tried to explain how a collective agricultural ritual like the Aśvamedha became in later times the sole affair of a kind and began to be looked upon as a symbol of royal greatness. The purpose of the present paper is also same, to unlock the closed door of ancient Indian social history with the essentials of the Rājasūya as the key, since we believe that the study of any cult or ritual *in itself* is of no value unless it is used as a means to understand the vast and enormously complicated problems of Indian social history.

Some Important Features of Rājasūya

As is known to all students of ancient Indian history, the Rājasūya was one of the principal ceremonies of royal inauguration. It consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances which began on the first day of the *Phālguna* (February-March, the spring-time of India) and spread over a period covering at least two years. The details of the Rājasūya are found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*². Its main features, as summed up by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri³, are as follows :

(1) *Ratnināṃ havimṣi* or presents to the divinities of the Ratnins (the bejewelled ones or those possessed of the jewel-offering or the aristocratic class). The Ratnins consisted of the *Senāni* (the Commander of the Army), the

1 See 'The Priest and the Queen: A Study in the Rituals of the Aśvamedha' in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, XXI, pp. 1-21.

2 V.2.3.9 ff.; *Sacred Books of the East*, XLI, pp. 42-113.

3 *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 165 ff.

Purohita (Royal Chaplain), the *Mahiṣī* (Chief Queen), the *Sūta* (Charioteer and Bard), the *Grāmaṇī* (Leader of the Host or Village Headman), the *Sam-grahitṛ* (Treasurer), *Kṣatṛ* (Chamberlain), the *Bhāgadugha* (Collector of the Royal Share, *i.e.* Taxes), the *Akṣāvāpa* (Keeper of the Dice), the *Go-Vikartana* (lit. Cutter-up of Cattle, *i.e.* the king's Companion in the Chase) and the *Pālāgala* (Courier).

(2) *Abhiṣecanīya* or besprinkling ceremony which began with offering to Savitr, Agni, Soma, Brhaspati, Indra, Rudra, Mitra and Varuṇa. The consecration water (*abhiṣecanīya āpaḥ*) was made up of seventeen kinds of liquid including the water from the river Sarasvatī, sea-water, and water from a whirlpool, a pond, a well and dew. The sprinkling was performed by a Brāhmaṇa priest, a kinsman or brother of the king-elect, a friendly Rājanya and a Vaiśya.

(3) *Dig-Vyāsthāpana* or the king's symbolical walking towards the various quarters as an indication of his universal rule.

(4) Treading upon a tiger's skin, thus gaining the strength and the pre-eminence of the tiger.

(5) Enthronement.

(6) A mimic cow raid against a relative or a sham fight with a member of the ruling aristocracy.

(7) Narration of the *hotṛ* priest of the story of Śunaḥśepa of the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 13 ff.

(8) A game of dice in which the king takes part.

Of the aforesaid eight items, the first five, *viz.* offerings to the household deities of the privileged persons, besprinkling ceremony, king's symbolical walk, treading upon the tiger's skin and enthronement, belong evidently to the sophisticated stage of the Rājasūya, and they are quite in accordance with the principles of royal inauguration of the later Vedic age. These were rituals through which the king was consecrated after his election.¹ These rituals reflect the ideal of monarchy and that of a class society. The rise of class society and state power on the ruins of pre-class tribal life is a significant historical process and one of our main aims in this paper is to throw light on this subject. Very frequently many of our historians use such terms as 'tribe,' 'tribal-king,' 'tribal-coin', etc. without caring to understand the real nature of tribal society and the process of its disintegration yielding to the rise of the state. If the inductive and comparative method used here proves to be effective, the three other rituals of the Rājasūya—the mimic cow raid, narration of the story of Śunaḥśepa and the game of dice—are likely to supply us valuable data relating to the growth of class society and the establishment of kingship of ancient India.

1 Cf. *Śatapatha Br.* V. 3.3 ff.; *Pañcaviṃśa Br.*, XVIII. 8 ff; *Taittiriya Br.* 1.7.5; *Āitareya Br.* VIII. 5 ff.

The Mimic Cow Raid

In our study in the ritual of the *Asvamedha*, we have argued that the early *Rgvedic* tribes were purely pastoral, and this point is indeed significant. "The growth of private ownership", writes George Thomson, "derived a powerful impetus from the domestication of cattle. Game is perishable and land is immovable, but wealth in the form of cattle is durable and easy to steal or to exchange. Being necessarily nomadic, pastoral tribes are quick to increase their wealth by cattle raids and war; and since warfare, which had grown out of hunting, was waged by the men, is reinforced the tendency already inherent in pastoral society, for wealth to accumulate in their hands. Constantly on the move, these turbulent tribes plunder one district after another. The male captives are killed, the women are carried off as chattels, their skill at the loom being measured in terms of cattle. But warfare requires unity of leadership, and consequently these tribes develop a type of kingship not magical, but military. In reward for their successful leadership, the kings receive the lion's share of the spoils, and the wealth thus amassed promotes social inequalities which shake the whole fabric of tribal society, beginning at the top."¹

The importance attached to the possession of cattle is shown by numerous passages of the *Rgveda*. The word *go* denoting the cow is used as one of the synonyms for *prthivī*, the earth. According to the *Nighaṇṭu*², nine other terms were also used to denote the cow. Even in the *Rgveda*³ the gods are invoked as offsprings of the cows and the poets do not hesitate to compare their songs with the lowing of the cows⁴ or to designate the starry heaven after the term *gāvaḥ*.⁵ We have many passages in the *Rgveda* referring to forays for cattle. So common were such raids that the word *gaviṣṭi* indicating 'battle for cattle' came to denote any 'conflict' or 'battle'. The Bharatas are frequently described as a host desirous of cows.⁶ The *Rgveda* is in fact burdened with the events of cattle raids and, as Dr. D. R. Das has shown,⁷ such events were common even in historical times, at least the ancient tradition *go-grahana* was maintained by Indian kings as one of the features of their royal duties.

The character of Indra, as depicted in the *Rgveda*, is that of an unscrupulous war-leader of the pastoral peoples—an ideal king of later times—plundering one district after another for the sake of cattle-wealth. He manifests his

1 *Aeschylus and Athens*, London, 1950, p. 32.

2 II. 11.

3 VI. 50. 11, etc.

4 VII. 32.22; VII. 106.1; IX. 22.2, etc.

5 I. 156.6; VII. 35.1.

6 Cf. III. 31.10.

7 *Go-grahana* in *Social Life in Ancient India* (ed. D. C. Sircar) Calcutta, 1971, pp. 30-38.

character not so much as the protector, but as the lifter of cattle¹. His help is sought for seizing the cattle of the enemies² like the Kikāṣas³. He is invoked as the discoverer of concealed cows⁴. He seizes the cattle of the Dasyus and releases them from the *goṣṭha*⁵. There is reason to believe that the Ṛgvedic episode, in which Indra forcibly released the cows kept by the Paṇis in mountain forts, has a factual basis.⁶ In one episode Indra is seen releasing the cows after having killed Vṛtra.⁷ He boasts of killing Vṛtra, giving all his cows to Trita, plundering the wealth of the Dasyus and driving all the cows to Dadhīca and Mātariśvan.⁸ In another place, it is stated that Trita, being sent by Indra, fought and killed Triśiras with the weapons of his father and obtained all the cows of Tvaṣṭi's son Viśvarūpa who was beheaded by Indra.⁹

Such examples of Indra's exploits can be multiplied. Since cattle was the form of wealth, to be increased by raids and wars, successful leadership in cattle-raids was regarded as one of the essential qualifications for the candidature of 'kingship' in the early Vedic age. There is reason to believe, as we shall see in a subsequent section, that kingship in that age was in most of the cases elective, although the conception of hereditary kingship was gaining ground. The Vedic tribes were getting detribalized, owing to the changes in the mode of production caused by the introduction of Higher Pastoralism. In the *Ṛgveda*, however, the term for war-chief was *rājā* which later on came to mean 'king'. The comparatively modern meaning of the word had led some of our scholars to discover kings and monarchs in the *Ṛgveda*. But this conclusion, as we shall see later, is based upon a wrong understanding. Nevertheless, it must be remembered in this connection that it took several centuries to get the whole of the *Ṛgveda* composed and that this long period must have witnessed a great social transformation, a qualitative transition from the pre-class to class-divided society.

In view of what we have stated above, we are now in a position to understand why a mimic cow raid was an essential ritual of the Rājasūya. All rituals are symbols of earlier social realities. The mimic cow raid is, therefore, an illusory technique, founded on the primitive magical notion that by creating the

1 III. 44.5; IV. 17.11; VI. 17.1; VI. 26.2; X. 38.1; X. 48.4.

2 IV. 31.13; VI. 35.2; VI. 42.2; VIII. 21.11; X. 24.14; etc.

3 III. 54.14.

4 IV. 28.5.

5 IV. 19.7; VI. 45.4.

6 III. 31.6; VI. 39.2; VI. 44.22; VI. 73.1-3; Vā. 9.2; IX. 22.7; IX. 111.2; X. 62.2; X. 67.3-8; X. 68.2-11; X. 108.

7 I. 32.12; V. 86.3; VIII. 3.19; X. 89.7.

8 X. 48.2.

9 X. 8.8-9.

illusion one can actually control the reality. Accordingly, the sacrificer, who has been elected 'king' for his successful leadership in the war or is holding his office as the descendant of such a 'king' previously elected, places a hundred or more than a hundred cows of one of his relatives to the north of the *āhavanīya* and takes part in a sham fight. He stops his chariot in the midst of cows guarded by a Rājanya with a bow in hand. The king then shoots his arrow at him and having thus, as it were, overpowered the enemy, he wheels round. Then he touches the cow with the end of his bow saying. 'Together with energy, I overpower them. I seize them.'¹

The Word Rājā : Its Original and Changed Meaning

The mimic cow raid is, therefore, an imitation of the actual cow raids of the earlier pastoral tribes. Our main line of approach is that successful leadership in such raids was once regarded as an essential qualification for the ruler and that in a later period when the institution of kingship in the modern sense was established, the kings in the time of royal inauguration used to mime those feats which they or their predecessors once performed in reality. But this conclusion will be of no value unless brought in relation to the bigger problem of the growth of the institution of kingship in the Vedic age.

Many scholars have spoken of the 'Vedic tribes' and described their social and political institutions *without trying to understand what the tribal society really is*. A few words should, therefore, be spoken in this connection. The tribe is composed of a number of class, and its affairs are conducted by a tribal council composed of the elected chiefs from different clans. Likewise the affairs of a clan are conducted by the clan-assembly composed of all the adult members of the clan. In a word, the tribal administration is maintained at all levels by democratic institutions, like the tribal-council, the clan-assembly, and so on². If the Vedic peoples were originally organised in tribes, it is logical to assume that they also must have once passed through a stage of similar democratic organisation. And this should be the basis of the study of the social and political institutions of the Vedic Aryans, a point which has been clearly ignored. True, the terms *Sabhā*, *Samiti* and *Vidatha* indicating 'popular assemblies' according to the modern interpretation, are widely discussed subjects, but what has not been discussed in connection with the said institutions is their real social and political role during the period under review.

Owing to this gross misunderstanding of the tribal institutions the historian has no hesitation in stating that "the tribes of the *Rgveda* were certainly under kingly rule : there is no passage in the *Rgveda* which suggests any other form of

1 *Sat. Br.*, V. 4.3.1-2; *SBE*, XLI, pp. 98-101.

2 L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 71 ff.

government, while the king under the style *rājan* is a frequent figure".¹ As Chattopadhyaya has rightly observed, "Evidently, the scholars who have discovered 'monarchy' among the Vedic tribes are misled by the word *rājan*. This is clear from the way the *Vedic Age* had echoed the *Cambridge History*: 'As a general rule, monarchy was the system of government prevailing in this age. The term *rājan*, king or chieftain, is of frequent occurrence in the *Rgveda*.' The premise is true but the conclusion untenable: the word *rājan* is there in the *Rgveda* but it does not prove the existence of a monarchical form of government. We shall mention here two decisive evidences. Even in the latest stratum of the *Rgveda* we come across the epithet *rājā vrātasya*, and this is a synonym for *gaṇasya senānīh*. This means nothing but the tribal chief. Secondly, one of the famous battles was referred by the *Rgveda* as *dāśarājña*; under the set idea that *rājā* could mean nothing but the king, this is taken to mean *the battle of the ten kings*. But who were the ten 'kings'? In preparing the list of these so-called kings, even the author of the *Cambridge History* was frankly obliged to use the word 'tribe' instead: 'Of the ten tribes five are of little note, the Alinas the Pakthas the Bhalānases the Śivas and the Viṣāṇins. Better known in the *Rgveda* are the other five, the Anus the Bhṛigus, the Druhyus the Turvaśas and Yadus and the Purus.' If these were tribes, then the battle against them could not be a battle of 'ten kings'. And if this were so, the use of the word *rājan* in the *Rgveda* is far from being a sure proof of hereditary monarchy."²

The Election of the 'Kings': The Popular Pressure

The ceremony of the Rājasūya or royal consecration, says Keith,³ "hints at recollections of an elective kingship by the consent of the people". What we are trying to discover on the basis of the available data is that the *rājās* of the *Rgveda* could not have been kings of the later times. They were, like the chiefs of tribal society, definitely elected by the people. The clearest reference to the *rājā* being elected by the people is found in the *Atharvaveda*.⁴ "The hyperboles of the Vedic poets", says Chattopadhyaya⁵, "appear to be all the more exaggerated by modern translator's preoccupations with the later ideas. Beneath all these overgrowths, however, the tribal custom of the people electing the chief and the chief in turn sharing out the wealth among the people are evident enough". The evidence of the clan council and tribal assemblies in the *Rgveda* shows that the Vedic people were largely at the tribal stage in which there was no place for hereditary kingship. Of course, with the disintegration

1 *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 94.

2 D. Chattopadhyaya, *Lokāyata*, Delhi 1968, pp. 593-94.

3 *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, Cambridge, 1925, p. 481.

4 III. 4.2.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 591.

of the tribal organisation, it became customary to elect chiefs from the same family which ultimately resulted in hereditary succession and finally kingship in the modern sense of the term.

Many passages of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* speak of the election and consecration of rulers.¹ The expression *rāja-kartṛ* (king-maker)² points to the important part played by officials including headmen of villages in the choice of the ruler. In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*³ the persons specified as *rāja-kartṛ* or *rājakṛt* are the *Sūta* and the *Grāmaṇī*. Prof. R. K. Mookerji observes : "It is apparent from the lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function".⁴ In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁵ emphasis is laid on the possession of moral qualities. The leader on whom the choice falls is *ojīṣṭha*, *baṣiṣṭha*, *sahiṣṭha*, *sattamaḥ*, *pārayiṣṇutama* and *dharmajñu*. We have evidence that the peoples sometimes expelled and even executed their rulers together with unpopular officials. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁶ refers to rulers who were expelled from their states. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁷ says that the *Sṛñjayas* expelled their hereditary ruler together with the *sthapati*. In later *Jātaka* literature there are numerous references to the power of the people to depose a king and elect another.⁸

That the real power was with the people is proved by the testimony of the *Atharvaveda*⁹ where it is stated that concord between king and assembly was essential. In the *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*¹⁰ we find references to the *Parīṣad*, the *Sabhā* and the *Samśad* where people used to meet. It refers to disputations (*Sanivāda*) and witnesses (*upadraṣṭṛ*) in connection with popular assemblies. These organisations were same as the *Samiti* or the *Parīṣad* of the *Upaniṣads* and served as the general body of the people (*Janah*), an assembly of the whole people.¹¹ The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*¹² mentions the *Samiti* of the *Pañcālas*, while the *Bṛhadāranyaka*¹³ uses the term *Parīṣad* instead of *Samiti*. The analogy of the Licchavi *Parīṣā* and of similar assemblies mentioned in Buddhist works shows that the functions and powers of the *Parīṣads* were by no means insignificant.

1 U. N. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, 1927, p. 26.

2 *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 17; *Śat. Br.*, III. 4.1.7.

3 III. 4.1.7; XIII. 2.18.

4 *The Fundamental Unity of India*, p. 83.

5 VIII. 12.

6 VIII. 10.

7 XI. 9.3.1 ff.

8 Nos. 73, 247, 378, 401, 462, 529, etc.

9 VI. 88.3.

10 II. 11.4; III. 7.6.

11 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

12 V. 3.1.

13 VI. 2.1.

The Tribal Councils

The examples, mentioned above, are carefully selected from the post-*Rgvedic* literature belonging to the period when the institution of kingship was spreading its root in the class divided soil of India. Even then the ancient democratic institutions, the popular assemblies did not cease to function, although their importance was going to be minimised, as is natural to expect. The decay of the old tribal, and hence democratic, assemblies was complete in the period represented by the Great Epic. Hopkins¹ says: "The earliest assembly for adjusting political affairs in Aryan India was the clan-assembly, called *sabhā* (cf. the German *sippe*).... Where the people met 'in assemblies' to discuss political matters, we may perhaps see a trace of the original function of the people's assembly, though such a meeting had, of course, long ceased to be what the *sabhā* had been—a village assembly for counsel—and corresponds neither to the regular *sabhā* of the old nor the antique state council in which the king took part (*samiti*), the latter having now become a meeting of the nobles and king.... The assembly of the people had become an assembly of nobles. The military power of the people had quite become the possession of the king. In all public matters appertaining to the story itself, the priests are as good as silent, and the people are suppressed."

But the picture was different in the age of the *Rgveda*. The *Rgveda* as a whole is a literature of a long transitional period retaining on the one hand memories and relics of the pre-class society and on the other foreshadowing the realities of class society. In any case, as it is natural to expect, the democratic institutions with their original tribal character must have survived with greater vigour and vitality in the age reflected by the *Rgveda*. The terms for such institutions, as found in the *Rgveda*, are *Sabhā*, *Samiti* and *Vidatha*. As regards the specific character of these institutions, the Vedic scholars are not unanimous. Therefore, it will be more justified if we take into account the functional aspects: the institutions as they functioned in the Vedic society.

Macdonell and Keith rightly observed that the kings had to attend the *Sabhā* and the *Samiti*.² But since they understood the term *rājan* in the modern sense of 'king' they found it difficult to explain precisely the position of the king in the tribal democratic assemblies. Keith, who had to admit the *democratic* and *tribal* character of these institutions, therefore, observed that "the power of the king cannot have been in normal circumstances arbitrary or probably very great. There stood beside him as the mode of expression of the will of the people of the assembly, which is denoted by the terms *Samiti* and *Sabhā*

1 JAOS, XIII, pp. 148-51.

2 Vedic Index, II. p. 427 n.

in the *Samhitās*".¹ On the same page, he writes : "If indeed the king was ever elected by the cantons, the election took place in the *Samiti*."² So great a scholar like Keith has thus made confusing statements, and this is due to a simple misunderstanding of the real significance of the term *rājan*. If he could assert that originally, at least in the earlier phase of the Ṛgvedic society, when class division was not as yet sharp, the word *rājan* denoted tribal leaders and that in a later period it came to denote king, there would be no difficulty in explaining the relation between the so-called 'king' and the assembly. Here we like to refer to a significant verse of the *Rgveda*³ which contains *rājānah samitau iva* (as 'kings' assemble in the *samiti*). Note that the use of the word *rājā* is made in plural. This plurality of the so-called 'kings', the presence of a number of kings in the *samiti*, prove that these *rājās* were no other than tribal leaders. They could not be monarchs because a plurality of them gathering in assembly makes hardly any sense.

One should not fail to recall in this connection what Morgan wrote about the European misunderstanding of the tribal organisation of the Americas : "(American) Indian Chiefs are described as *Lords* by Spanish writers.... It is a misconception to style an (American) Indian chief in the European sense, because it implies a condition of society that did not exist. One belongs to political society and represents an aggression of the few upon the many ; while the other belongs to gentile (tribal) society and is founded upon the common interests of the members of the gens (clan) "⁴. Even while dealing with European history many of the modern scholars were not conscious about the real distinction between the tribal and political societies. "The trouble with this school of historians", says Thomson⁵, "is that they are trying to explain the tribal institutions of early Rome without raising the question of what tribal society is".

Now about the functional aspects. If the *samiti* were crowded by the so-called 'kings', we have argued that they were not really kings in the modern sense of the term. They were tribal leaders, war-chiefs. This is supported by the evidence furnished by the *Nighaṇṭu*⁶ according to which the word *samiti* is a *saṅgrāma-nāma* (a name for war). To conduct the tribal wars was evidently one of the important functions of the tribal assemblies, but they had other functions too, of which the most important was the distribution of wealth. This

1 *Cambridge History of India*, I. p. 96.

2 *Ibid.*

3 X. 97.6.

4 Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

5 *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, London, 1949, I. p. 97.

6 II. 17.

has been shown by Prof. Debiprasad Chattopadhyay¹ who has collected numerous passages dealing with the distribution of wealth in the popular assemblies from which we are quoting a few : 'Ah ! Let the happiness of the assembly come to us ; we offer praise to the speedy ones ; because to-day Savitṛ, the custodian of wealth, is in the act of sharing out this wealth² Suparṇa gives the shares of water continuously in the assembly³ O god (Agni), for proper enjoyment you disbursed your wealth in shares in the assembly⁴ O Agni, this assembly of ours shines among the gods ; you, the custodian of food, divide wealth among us here and give us shares full of wealth.'⁵

Thus the assembly is often referred to as the place of the division of wealth. But how this division took place ? What have the Vedic texts to say on this point ? What were the forms of division in the pre-class society and what were those in the earlier phases of class society ? Does the *Ṛgveda* help us in understanding these problems ? How was the custom of equal division abolished with the further growth and consolidation of class society ? Do the functions of royal consecration, as found in later literature, contain relics of such vanished customs ? Is there in the *Rājasūya* any act or miming of any act which presents an illusion of such a lost reality ?

Akṣa and Ṛta

We should not fail to recall in this connection that *sabhā* was the place for the distribution of wealth, as we have seen above, and that one of the names of the dice and the dicer was *sabhāsthāṇu*. *Sabhā* and *Sabhāsthāṇu* therefore may not be unconnected, and in view of this we can reasonably raise the question whether dicing or casting the lot had anything to do with the primitive distribution of wealth : whether the king's taking part in the ritual dicing was an illusory survival of lost reality of equal distribution of wealth through casting the lot.

The following is what the king had to do with dice in the *Rājasūya* : " He then throws the five dice into his hand with (*Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* X. 28) ' Dominant thou art : may these five region of thine prosper ! now that one, the Kali, is indeed dominant over the (other) dice, for that one dominates over all the dice ; therefore he says, ' Dominant thou art : may these five regions of thine prosper ! ' for there are indeed five regions, he thereby causes to prosper

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 578 ff; cf. his *Bhāratīya Darśan* (Beng), pp. 138 ff.

2 *RV*, VII. 40.1.

3 I. 164.21.

4 II. 1.4.

5 X. 11.8.

for him.”¹ Descriptions of the ritual use of dice at the Agnyādheya and the Rājasūya ceremonies are also found in other works.²

It appears that although in later times dicing was reduced to gambling, its original purpose was different. The *Akṣa-sūkta* (X. 34) belongs to the later portion of the *Rgveda* and it has very little to do with ritual-dicing. But there are certain indications in this *sūkta* which we should not overlook. The entire hymn is a combination of two different themes, one of which is ecstatic praise of *Akṣa* in connection with agriculture while the other is designed to denounce *Akṣa* in connection with gambling. According to Sāyaṇa, the deity of this *sūkta* is *akṣa-kṛṣi-praśaṃsā akṣa-kitava-nindā ca*, i.e. ‘the praise of the lot as (related to) agriculture (*kṛṣi*) and also the denunciation of the lot as (related to) gambling (*kitava*). The praise of agriculture shows that the hymn was composed at a later period. The pastoral Vedic peoples resorted to agriculture at a considerably late period. However, we shall presently see that the lot or *Akṣa* was not designed by the early Vedic people for the exclusive purpose of gambling.

In several passages of the later *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, lists are given of expressions connected with dicing.³ Of such names *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* (= *Abhibhū* and *Akṣarāja*)⁴ are significant. These are well-known names of the mythical ages of India, from which it may be presumed that in each of the ‘supposed ages’ dicing underwent some changes in *purpose* and form. The change took place from time to time in accordance with the corresponding social changes. Lüders shows that in a considerable number of passages in the *Rgveda*, *Kṛta* means a ‘throw’ (not ‘a stake’ or ‘what is won’) and this sense is clearly found in the *Atharvaveda*.⁵

It is interesting to note that in the *Atharvaveda*, the *Akṣa* is connected with *Varuṇa* and *Ṛta*. “King *Varuṇa* sees through all that is between the heaven and the earth, and all that is beyond. He has counted the winkings of men’s eyes. As a (winning) gamester puts down his dice, thus does he establish these (laws)”.⁶ Thus the establishment of *Varuṇa*’s laws is conceived in terms of dicing. The relation between *Akṣa* and *Ṛta* is also anticipated in the *Akṣa-sūkta* of the *Rgveda*:⁷ *Yo vaḥ senānīrmahato gaṇasya rājā ṣrātasya prathamobabhūva | tasmai kṛṇomi na dhanā ruṇadhmi daśāhaṃ prācistadr̥taṃ vadāmi ||* Here the *Akṣa* is conceived as the leader of *gaṇa* and the first chief (*rājā*) of the

1 *Śat. Br.*, V. 4.4.6; *Sacred Books of the East*, XLI, 106.

2 *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*, IV. 4.6; *Taittirīya Br.*, I. 7.10.5; *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* XV. 7.5 ff; *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, XVIII. 18.16 ff; *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, II. 8-9; etc.

3 *Taittirīya Sam.* IV. 3.3.1-2; *Vāj. Sam.*, XXX. 18; *Taitt. Br.* III. 4.1.16.

4 Cf. *Śat. Br.*, V. 4.4.6; *Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index*, I. p. 3.

5 *Macdonell and Keith, op. cit.*, p. 3.

6 *AV*, IV. 16.5; *Sacred Books of the East*, XLII, p. 88.

7 X. 34.12.

vrāta. The poet having addressed the *Akṣa* in such terms declares that he is not withholding wealth. With his ten fingers stretched he is speaking the *Rta*.

The promise of *not withholding the wealth in the name of Rta* indicates something other than gambling. As Macdonell and Keith¹ have pointed out, the Vedic gods were compared to the throws of dice as giving or destroying wealth, and such conceptions, as we shall see later, were not without any social basis. However, the most interesting point in the Ṛgvedic passage is the conception of the *Akṣa* as the leader of *gaṇa* and *vrāta*, the tribal collective. That the term *gaṇa* evidently denoted 'tribe' has been proved by numerous references to it in the same sense in ancient literature, and since scholars are more or less unanimous in this interpretation, there is no need of any further discussion on this point. Kātyāyana² said that the words *śreṇī*, *pūga*, *gaṇa*, *vrāta* and *saṃgha* meant *samūha* or *varga*, i.e. 'group'. Interestingly, Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the said *Akṣa-sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda* has equated *gaṇa* with *vrāta*.

Thus the *Akṣa-sūkta* itself points at the tribal character of the original dicing. It also contains the relics of the very old social characteristic that wealth should not withheld, because that would go against the principles of *Rta*. Evidently these were the social values prior to the development of the conflict between social wealth and individual appropriation. In the earlier stages of class society, when the tribal organisations disintegrated, the king, although he had by this time established his individual right on the large portion of social wealth, paid lip-loyalty to the ancient tribal customs. This explains why in the *Rājasūya* the king took the dice in his own hand. The dice was the symbol of ancient social justice, the ideals of which the king was expected to uphold.

Rta and Varuṇa

Evidently dice was the symbol of ancient social justice and, as we shall see later, casting the lot was a means of equal distribution of wealth in early Vedic times. But before reaching to this point we shall have to deal with some kindred subjects which are likely to substantiate our hypothesis as parts of circumstantial evidence. The *Akṣa*, as we have seen above, is connected with *Rta* in the *Ṛgveda* as well as the *Atharvaveda*. But what is this *Rta*? According to Winternitz,³ *Rta* is the 'order of the Universe' while Macdonell⁴ takes it to mean the 'physical and moral order'. Keith⁵ thinks it to be term for the cosmic as well as the moral order. According to Radhakrishnan "*Rta* literally means 'the course of things'. It stands for law in general and the immanence of justice.

1 *Vedic Index*, I, p. 3.

2 P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, p. 66.

3 *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 154.

4 *History of Sanskrit Literature*, London 1905, p. 75.

5 *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 248.

This conception must have originally been suggested by the regularity of the movement of the sun, moon and stars, the alternations of day and night, of the seasons. *Ṛta* denotes the order of the world. Everything that is ordered in the universe has *Ṛta* for its principles. It corresponds to the *Universals* of Plato. The world of experience is a shadow or reflection of the *Ṛta*, the permanent reality which remains unchanged in all the welter of mutation.¹

But such interpretations of the *Ṛta* are one-sided. There is no doubt that *Ṛta* stood for a peculiar complex of moral and physical laws. But this is not all. The *Ṛta* also stood for other principles which all these great scholars have unfortunately overlooked. One point which should be stressed is that the Vedic poets eventually *felt the loss of Ṛta* and strongly urged for its revival. If it were exclusively the physical and cosmic laws, there was no need of such lamenting. At the same time it is interesting to note that in the post-Vedic literature the conception of *Ṛta* is practically absent. In the principal Upaniṣads the word occurs only seven times.² This shows that *Ṛta* originally stood for a different set of principles which was consistent with the early Vedic way of life, but eventually those principles were undermined and annihilated and some poets dreamt of their revival in vain. Now, what were the principles for which *Ṛta* stood originally ?

Chattopadhyay³ tried to give an answer to this question having demonstrated the material basis of *Ṛta* from the Ṛgvedic passages. According to him, "the *Ṛta* assured the poets their cows, their water, their food, and in fact everything they considered as constituting material wealth. Being thus intimately connected with the essentially practical considerations, the concept of *Ṛta* was yet to acquire any spiritual significance. *Ṛta*, the order of nature, was also understood by the poets and their kinsmen as the most potent force assuring them of their means of subsistence"⁴. How *Ṛta* assured the people their cows, their water, their food, their material wealth and other means of subsistence has been shown in numerous passages of the *Rgveda*⁵. 'The holdings of the *Ṛta* are fast, the manifold forms of the *Ṛta* are delightful, the praisers desire abundant food of the *Ṛta*; by virtue of the *Ṛta* cows are obtained, and they (the cows) enter into the *Ṛta*. Having pleased the *Ṛta* the praisers gain strength and water; the earth does yield the best cows only for the sake of the *Ṛta* and it is vast and incommensurable because of the *Ṛta*'⁶. There are many more passages like this.

1 *Indian Philosophy*, I., pp. 78-79.

2 *Taittiriya*, I. 1.1; I. 9.1; I. 12.1; II. 4.1; III. 10.6; *Kaṭha*, III. 1; V. 2.

3 *Lokāyata*, pp. 622 ff.

4 *Ibid*, p. 628

5 I. 132.3; I. 141.1; I. 151.3-8; II. 27.12; III. 1.11; III. 20.4; III. 54.3; III. 56.2; III. 61.6; IV. 2.16; IV. 23.8-10; IV. 51.7-8; IV. 52.2; V. 8.1; V. 41.1; VII. 66.13; etc.

6 IV. 23.9-10.

Rgvedic passages relating to the *Rta* convincingly prove that the said concept had direct or indirect bearing on the process of obtaining means of subsistence. The moral aspects of *Rta* have been emphasised by the scholars and the source of this moral order has been traced to the physical order. But there is nothing in the *Rgveda* to prove that human morality has its roots in human reason and that the latter in its turn is a reflection of the law-governed universe. In the nineteenth century Europe it was believed that rising out of the background of the law-governed physical universe human being is essentially rational and hence moral. And this belief was artificially imposed upon the Vedic conception of *Rta*. But if this artificiality is withdrawn, there is no difficulty in finding the *Rta* in its real perspective, in its functional aspects.

We shall not therefore be wrong in assuming that the Vedic *Rta* must have originally been what Engels¹ called the *simple moral grandeur of ancient gentile society*, and this explains why the Vedic poets felt the loss of *Rta* for which the breakdown of ancient collective life was responsible. Of all the Vedic gods, Mitra and Varuṇa, especially the latter, had the closest connection with the *Rta*. Varuṇa is *Rtasya gopā*, the guardian of the *Rta*, who, as a moral governor stands far above any other deity. "His wrath is roused by sin, the infringement of his ordinances, which he severely punishes (*RV*, VII.86.3-4). The fetters (*pāśāḥ*) with which he binds sinners, are often mentioned (*I.24.15*, etc.). They are cast sevenfold and threefold, ensnaring the man who tells lies, passing by him who speaks truth (*AV*, IV.16.6).... On the other hand, Varuṇa is gracious to the penitent. He unites like a rope and removes sin (*II.28.5* ; *V.85.7-8*). He releases not only from the sins which men themselves commit, but from those committed by their Fathers (*VII.86.5*)."² Evidently, more important than the physical attributes of Varuṇa "are his moral qualities, his control of the order of the world in its ethical aspect no less than in its physical, his connexion with the worshipper as the saviour in time of peril and distress, the freer from sin, the merciful god as well as the punisher of the sinner."³ Thus the Varuṇa of the past was the guardian of truth and justice, and hence his ordinances were severe. "Varuṇa's ordinances are constantly said to be fixed, the epithet *Dhṛtavrata* being pre-eminently applicable to him the gods themselves follow Varuṇa's ordinance Even the immortal gods cannot obstruct the ordinance of Mitra and Varuṇa Mitra and Varuṇa are lords of order (*Rta*) and light, who by means of order are the upholders of order."⁴

Thus we have tried to establish the tribal, and hence pre-class, basis of the conception of *Rta* and in this connection referred to the strictness of the charac-

1 *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Moscow 1952, p. 163.

2 Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg 1898, p. 26.

3 Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

4 Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

ter of Varuṇa as the guardian of *Rta*, the sacred and inviolable laws regulating the relations of the members of the pre-class society. We are to remember in this connection that the strictness and severity of Varuṇa was for the sake of truth and justice, for the sake of the inherent morality of tribal life. And with the growth of class society, when the lowest interests—‘base greed, brutal sensuality, sordid avarice, selfish plunder of common possessions’¹—dominated, the moral inspiration of Varuṇa’s character naturally sank into oblivion. This moral basis being destroyed, what remained in the character of Varuṇa was nothing but severity. Varuṇa in subsequent ages thus turned into a cruel god, a source of terror. In later literature, as we shall see in a subsequent section, his very presence was like a nightmare.

Relics of Ancient Equality

We are yet to answer another question, to which we are automatically led by the preceding investigations. Is there any relic of pre-class society, of collective life, in the *Rgveda*? Fortunately however, exhaustive researches in this field have been made by Chattopadhyaya² from whose findings we are quoting a few. In political and administrative spheres, as we have already seen, the institutions found in Vedic literature, are clear relics of pre-class tribal survivals. In the economic sphere, as regards production and distribution, the same also holds good. In *RV*, VII.76.5, a clear picture of primitive communism is found: ‘Being united with the *common cattle* they became of one mind they strive together as it were, nor do they injure the rituals of the gods : non-injuring each other they move with wealth’. Here are a few of other examples of collective ownership along with a significant reference to the *past*: ‘*As in the past* he (Agni) generated the *common wealth* (for the living beings)’.³ ‘Let the *common cow* be moving swiftly’.⁴ ‘We invoke Indra, the custodian of *common wealth* and the giver of wealth for protection’.⁵ ‘O Agni, your brilliance comes [to us and you brought the cows of *Rta equally to us*’.⁶ Such examples can be multiplied to show that the *Rgveda* during the long period of its composition witnessed the transition from pre-class to class society and that it actually contains the relics of ancient collectivity and equality. The concluding verses of the *Rgveda* are really significant. The poet is lamenting for the life that is lost, trying to revive the memory of the past, which is imagined to restore the bliss of equality and unity once enjoyed by the Vedic peoples of the earlier age.

1 Engels, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 146-171; 560 ff.

3 *RV*, III. 2.12.

4 VI. 26.1.

5 VIII. 99.8.

6 I. 141.1.

Distribution : Casting the Lot

Now we are in a position to answer why the king in the Rājasūya had to mime an act of dicing. Casting the lot was one of the primitive means of equal distribution of wealth, and king of a later age—although he was too powerful—at least formally took an oath that he would maintain the inviolable *Rta*, the spirit of ancient equality and justice, and his taking part in ritual dicing can only be explained in this sense. Casting the lot was indeed the best means of distribution, because the commodities gathered as collective wealth of the tribe, to be distributed among the clans, had no fixed value in the economic sense since costing was unknown. Thus *bhāgya* (lot) was a means of *bhāga* (share).

In Greek context George Thomson¹ has analysed the system of casting the lot as a means of equal distribution and his researches throw important light on what still remains obscure in Vedic literature. He shows that the ancient system of casting the lot gave rise to the conception of the goddess Moira. "The basic meaning of the word *moira* is a share or portion With *moira* is associated another word, *luchos*, a portion given or received by the process of casting lots. One of the Moirai (goddess of fate) bore the name of Lachesis, the goddess of Allotment. In this sense *luchos* is synonymous with *kleros*, which, commonly used of a lot or holding of a land, originally denoted a piece of wood used for casting lots The land was to be distributed by lot among the tribes, and the territory of each tribe was to be subdivided by lot among the 'families' or 'clans'..... Booty was distributed in the same way Plutarch goes on to remark that equality of the common meal was destroyed in course of time by the growth of luxury (he should rather, have said the growth of private property) but persisted in the public distribution of meat at state sacrifices It may therefore be concluded that in its application to food, booty and land the idea of Moira reflects the collective distribution of wealth through three successive stages in the evolution of tribal society. Oldest of all was the distribution of food, which goes back to the hunting period. Next comes the distribution of chattels and inanimate movables acquired by warfare, which was a development of hunting ; and, last the division of land for purposes of agriculture."

Now let us view the Vedic system of distribution in view of what has been stated above. Chattopadhyaya² points out on the evidence of the *Nighaṇṭu* that words like *brahman*, etc. have originally meant food and material wealth at the same time, thus referring to a period, when the distinction between the idea of food and that of material wealth did not develop. The division of food, which goes back to the hunting period according to Thomson, is found in a few

1 *Aeschylus and Athens*, pp. 38-44.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 570-78.

verses of the *Rgveda*. Indra is described as the divider of the shares (*bhāga*) of food (*vāja*)¹, and as such regarded as the mightiest among the gods.² But the most significant reference to the division of food along with a distinct mention of common meal is found in the *Atharvaveda*: "Having superiors, intentful, *be ye not divided, accomplishing together, moving on with joint labour*; Come hither speaking what is agreeable one to another; I make you united, like-minded. Your drinking (be) the same, *in common your share of food*; in the same harness do I join you together; worship ye Agni united, like spokes about a nave."³

Evidently these passages refer to a period of primitive communism when collective labour and common meal determined human relationships. The next stage was marked, according to Thomson, by the distribution of advanced wealth in the form of cattle, etc., and subsequently that of chattels and inanimate movables acquired by warfare. This type of wealth is indicated in the *Rgveda* by the term *vārya*, which has been interpreted by Sāyaṇa as 'wealth in the form of cattle' (*gavādi dhanānām*) and also as 'wealth in the form of crops (*vrihiyavādīnām*). Although wealth in the form of cattle or crops indicate an advanced, i.e., class-divided state of social development, the word for wealth still concealed within itself, the old communistic conception. In its derivative meaning, *vārya* is that (coming from the root *Vṛm*) which is *by nature* divisible. Likewise the word *bhāga* stood at the same time for 'wealth' and 'share', thus indicating that there was originally no wealth that was not shared out. Division of wealth looted from the aliens occurs frequently in the *Rgveda*⁴, and in many such verses the ancient law of division is stressed. Thomson's third category, viz. the division of land, is practically absent in the *Rgveda* because, as we have said many times, the early Vedic peoples were predominantly pastoral. They were more interested in counting wealth in terms of cattle, and their attention to agriculture was drawn at a later period⁵.

The Sabhāsthānu,

In view of what we have stated above now it is not difficult to understand the function of the *Sabhāsthānu* or the dicer of the Vedic assembly. Macdonell and Keith said⁶, "Sabhā is the name of the assembly of the Vedic Indians as

1 *RV*, III. 49.4.

2 *VI*. 36.1.

3 *III*. 30.5-6, Whitney's tr. I, pp. 138-39.

4 *I*. 20.8; *I*. 73.5; *I*. 102.4; *I*. 103.6; *I*. 112.1; *I*. 135.2-3; *I*. 162.3; *I*. 183.4; *II*. 10.6; *II*. 19.5; *II*. 23.2; *II*. 24.14; *III*. 28.4; *III*. 30.18; *V*. 42.5; *V*. 86.5; *VI*. 22.4; *VII*. 56.21; *VIII*. 36.1-6; *VIII*. 96.8; *VIII*. 96.21; *X*. 52.1; *X*. 114.3; etc.

5 See my paper in *JOI*, XXI, pp. 1-21.

6 *Vedic Index*, II, p. 426.

well as the hall where they met in assembly...The hall was clearly used for dicing, presumably when the assembly was not transacting public business : a dicer is called *Sabhāsthāṇu*, pillar of the assembly, doubtless because of his constant presence there". But this interpretation of the *Sabhā* as the gambling house is misleading. As we have already noticed, *Sabhā* was an assembly of tribal administration where the task of the division of wealth was carried out, and as such, it was the venue for casting the lot which was the technique of ensuring impartiality in the matter of distribution of wealth among the 'clans'. This was reason why the dicer was called *Sabhāsthāṇu*, lit. pillar of the assembly'.

Annihilation of Rta : The Śunahśepa Legend

Indeed there was once a time, says *Rgveda*,¹ when the gods used to assemble together and accept equal shares. But this equality was not permanent. Eventually Indra demanded the lion's share of the booty.² This is a notable feature of the disintegration of tribal society everywhere in the world. "The robber wars increased the power of the supreme military commander as well as of the sub-commanders. The customary election of successors from one family, especially after the introduction of father-right, was gradually transformed into hereditary succession, first tolerated, then claimed and finally usurped. The foundation of hereditary royalty and hereditary nobility was laid. In this manner, the organs of the gentile constitution were gradually torn from roots in the people, in gens, phratry and tribe and the whole gentile order was transformed into its opposite : from an organisation of tribes for the free administration of their own affairs it became an organisation for plundering and oppressing their neighbours ; and correspondingly, its organs were transformed from instruments of the will of the people into independent organs for ruling and oppressing their own people."³

This also accounts for the fall of Varuṇa who was in the *Rgveda* the eternal bestower of wealth, the friend of mankind, the strict upholder of moral laws. But when with the greed of wealth, the basis of ancient *Rta*, of tribal morality, was destroyed, when property differences changed the original character of the community, the god was also transformed into a greedy one, a bad fellow, ugly in his insatiable demands. As Keith⁴ rightly observes : "The figure of Varuṇa does not increase in moral value in the course of the development of the Vedic religion Varuṇa is remembered as the god who has fetters and becomes in the Brāhmaṇas a *dreaded god* whose ritual in some measure is assimilated to that of the demons and the dead. After the performance of the bath,

1 X. 191.2.

2 Cf. VII. 32.12.

3 Eagels, *Op. cit.*, pp. 267-69.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 247-48.

which ends the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, the performer turns away and does not look back to escape from Varuṇa's notice,¹ and in the ceremony of that bath when performed after the horse sacrifice, a man of peculiar appearance is driven into the water and an offering made on his head, as being a representative of Varuṇa:² this form of the expulsion of evils shows Varuṇa reduced to a somewhat humble level, and degraded from his R̥gvedic eminence."

This Varuṇa is really the ghost of the R̥gvedic Varuṇa. In the Śunaḥśepa legend of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,³ which reflects the ugliest aspects of class society, this friend and benefactor of human beings is transformed into an importunate creditor. King Hariścandra was sonless. He was very eager to have children and desperately promised that if a son was born to him he would sacrifice that child to Varuṇa. Accordingly a son, Rohita by name, was born to him and at once Varuṇa demanded his due. Hariścandra requested him to wait for ten days. Ten days over, Varuṇa reappeared and demanded his due. This time the king said that a victim is not fit for sacrifice until its teeth appear, and in this way he was able to befool Varuṇa again and again till Rohita became adult. But Varuṇa was an importunate creditor. He again appeared with his uncanny demand. Rohita who had by this time become adult did not want to get himself killed at the sacrifice. He took his bow and left the palace. The angry and disappointed god, unable to get Rohita in his grasp, sent waters into the belly of the king.

Rohita then began to wander in the forests. In the forest he suddenly came across a poor person, Ajīgarta by name, who had three sons—Śunaḥpuccha, Śunaḥśepa and Śunolāṅgula. Rohita purchased Śunaḥśepa having given one hundred cows to Ajīgarta. Varuṇa had no objection in accepting Śunaḥśepa as a substitute for Rohita. As none was found to bind Śunaḥśepa to the sacrificial post, his greedy father Ajīgarta performed that task when he was offered one hundred cows in addition to the hundred he had already received. And for another hundred he did not even hesitate to undertake the task of slaughtering his own son.

The story however did not end in complete tragedy. Śunaḥśepa was saved by the grace of the ancient Vedic deities whom he invoked when he was bound to the sacrificial post. What we learn from this story is that Śunaḥśepa was not the victim of a simple sacrifice. He was, in fact, the victim of the greed, selfishness and cruelty of class society. It was a society where the gods, like their human prototypes, were merciless monsters, men with wealth could do anything and everything; a father, driven by hunger would sell his son for a hundred cows,

1 *Taittiriya Saṃhitā*, VI. 6.35; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, IV. 8.5.

2 *Apastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, XIII. 19.1.

3 VII. 13ff.

bind him for another hundred and slay him for another hundred. This was what the Vedic poets categorically said : *fall from the Rta-Nirrti*. The sacrificial victim, rather the victim of circumstances, could only thus desire in vain : Keep us away from *Nirrti*.¹ Maddened by the grim forces of this *Nirrti*, the poet exclaims : I ask thee, O Yajña, ... where is the *Rta* of the past gone ? Who is the new one that holds it ? Where is the *Rta* of yours gone ? Where, O gods, is the holding of the *Rta* ? Where is the watchfulness of Varuṇa² ?

The priests of the Rājasūya were also slaves of king's wealth, unable either to get rid of the regime of *Nirrti* or to bring back the old days of *Rta*, and what they could do under such circumstances was to recollect the events through which the annihilation of the *Rta* was complete.

1 RV, I. 26.9.

2 Ib., I. 105. 4-6.

A NOTE ON AŚOKAN ART

By

APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY, Varanasi

Art critics hold that there is a clear stamp of Iranian art on Aśokan art. While describing the similarity between the audience hall or 'apadana' of the Achaemenian palace and that of Aśokan hall, B. Rowland has pointed out the tremendous influence upon Mauryan India by the art of the Achaemenid Empire.¹ Regarding the foreign influence on Aśokan art, Dr. Smith holds that it was influenced by Iran. But he admits that there is clear difference between the two and that Aśokan art is far superior to the art of Achaemenian Iran. He says, "The capitals of the monolithic columns, likewise with their seated and standing animals, although distinctly reminiscent of Persia, differ widely from Persian models and are artistically far superior to anything produced in Achaemenian times."²

Dr. V. S. Agrawala does not accept the theory of foreign influence on Aśokan or Mauryan art. He says, "The testimony of the Greek writers that the Mauryan palace was much superior in all respects to the Achaemenian palaces at Susa and Akhabatana is strong enough to rule out the participation of foreign artists in the building of the palace; if they were from Iran, they should have done better in their homes."³

So the superiority of Aśokan or Maurya art to Achaemenian art is admitted even by V. A. Smith though he believes that Aśokan art is largely foreign.

Now the question is how we can accept the theory that Iranian art was the model of Aśokan art since the latter was far superior to the former, though the remarkable similarity between the two is pointed out by scholars, as already noted.

Since there is similarity between Aśokan art and art of Achaemenian Iran and still Aśokan art is superior, let us see what exactly is the history of Achaemenian art.

A. T. Olmstead tells us in his book entitled "History of the Persian Empire" that Darius borrowed the pattern and technique of architecture from the palace of Nebuchadnezzar. Thus the plan of "appa danna" or hall of pillars and the triple Pavement, which are characteristics of the palaces of Darius including the famous palace of Persepolis, were borrowed from

1 B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 39-48.

2 V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 68-69.

3 V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965, p. 104.

Nebuchandnezzar's Palace.¹ So if we infer that the model of both Achaemenian and Aśokan art was the Mesopotamian art we can solve the problem why Aśokan art though similar to Achaemenian art is superior to the latter and gives the impression of a matured art. It seems India could take the technique of art and art formulae from Mesopotamian art and improve upon it with her own existing skilled artisans. Iran proved an inferior imitator.

It has also been suggested by Prof. Rowland in connection with a colossal capital recovered during the first excavation at Pāṭaliputra, that Greek, Persepolitan and Aśokan art had one original model which was Sumerian. He refers to the view of W. Andrae² and says that 'the Greek Ionic, the Persepolitan capital and the present variant at Pāṭaliputra are all parallel derivations from one original form such as the Aeolic or, as has been suggested by at least one scholar from a Sumerian pictograph.....'

Mesopotamia was the cradle of the three ancient civilizations Sumerian, Assyrian and Babylonian. So the art of these three civilizations can be conveniently called Mesopotamian art. It has been significantly pointed out by V. A. Smith that the centres of Greek art of Aśokan times were in Asia Minor and that the Greek art of this region and period was largely modified by Asiatic and African traditions reaching back to the ancient days of Assyria and Egypt.³ Dr. Smith thus points out the untenability of the theory that Aśokan art was Greek in character.

So it was Mesopotamian art which was the model for Aśokan and Achaemenian arts and also for the Greek art of Aśokan times. The scholars in this matter have not paid much attention to the Indian traditional views about architecture. In ancient Indian literature we are often told in connection with any excellent piece of architecture that it was built by some 'Asura'. Such a saying must be having the reference to the skill and excellence in art of the people of the land lying between Euphrates and Tigris, that is Mesopotamia. It is to be noted that the site of 'Asura' the capital of the Assyrians still can be seen in present times. So the 'Asuras' having excellent knowledge in architecture and guiding building constructions in India, as noticed in Indian literature, were not mythical beings. In all probability they were engineers and architects of Mesopotamia. They might have actively guided the construction work of Darius, the Achaemenian emperor of Persia. And there is no wonder if they came to India too. It is possible that even before the days of Aśoka these skilled architects used to come to India and Indian kings and well-to-do people might have preferred to take the help of these Mesopotamian experts in the matters

1 A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 162.

2 W. Andrae, *Die Ionische Säule*, Berlin, 1933.

3 V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 68-69.

of architecture and engineering. It is to be noted that in Indian language 'Pārasika' was the term for an Iranian and 'Yavana' was the term for a Greek. But in our literature we find the term 'Asura' and not 'Pārasika' or 'Yavana' used in the case of an architect employed in constructing a royal palace.

But if the same skilful experts worked both in India and Iran why Indian art of Aśokan period is far superior to that of Achaemenian Iran? The possible causes for it may be the following. In the first place both in Iran and in India there must have existed local technicians with local formulae and skill. India might have taken the guidance from Mesopotamian experts and utilized at the same time the skill and technique of her local technicians. Secondly Aśoka must have extended exceptional royal patronage to the works which enabled the workers to pay full attention to the work and produce masterpieces. Thirdly, the art traditions of India might be much older and matured than those of Iran of Achaemenian times. It is definite that neither Iran nor India fully and blindly copied Mesopotamian art. The Aśokan art must have got the Indian character blended with Mesopotamian technique, whereas Achaemenian art had Iranian character blended with and modified by Mesopotamian model.

A SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF LORD BUDDHA FROM NAGARJUNAKONDA

By

K. RAGHAVACHARY, Nagpur

Nagarjunakonda, one of the world famous Buddhist sites on the right bank of the river Kṛṣṇā, is situated at a distance of about 21 kilometers from Macherla Railway Station and 7 kilometers from the Nagarjunasar Dam site. It is approachable by motorable roads from both Macherla and the Dam site. Before the conversion of the Nagarjunakonda valley into a huge reservoir, it contains a cluster of Buddhist vihāras and a few Hindu temples. In the centre of the valley is situated a hill called the hill of Nagarjuna. Important Buddhist monuments from the valley have been reconstructed on this hill top and the Buddhist sculptures have been exhibited in a Museum on this hill top. After the valley has been filled up with the water of the river Kṛṣṇā the hill of Nagarjuna has been looking just like an Island Museum. It is at this place that an Embossed potsherd with one of the life scenes of Lord Buddha has been picked up by me on my private visits during the year 1970 to this place.

Description of the potsherd :

Fragment of a lid of a redware medium to coarse in fabric. On the potsherd a scene from the life of Lord Buddha is embossed. Since the other parts are missing one cannot see the entire scene, but from the available fragment it would be easy to reconstruct upto some extent the events from the life of Buddha (Plate I on next page).

Scene on the potsherd :

On the potsherd are seen three dwarf figures and a hand of another dwarf and an oval shape object with three vertical lines in it, and an elongated thick line which may be its handle. Regarding the dwarf figures the lower-most one seems to be a stout figure with a turban on his head and holding a stick-like object. With regard to the other dwarfs they are disproportionately embossed. In their posture they seem to be in dancing pose. The hand of the fourth dwarf is seen near the oval object which is having a handle. The scene on the potsherd reminds us of one of the life scenes of Buddha. This scene in particular has been identified by me with the temptation of Māra on Buddha in order to disturb him from his meditation. Here Buddha has been attacked by a normally disproportioned warriors helped by dwarf attendants who brandish weapons and sound musical instruments. During one of a such occasions that the dwarf army of Māra have been dancing and rejoicing, when their leader (Māra) attacks Buddha. Unfortunately only one piece with the dancing dwarfs

with few musical instruments has been found. The oval object has been identified with a musical instruments and the stick like one in the hands of the stout dwarf to a flute. Perhaps if the other potsherds of the lid are found they might contain the other scene of Māra's attack on Buddha. On the right side of the oval object and attached to it there is noticed a handle like one which cannot be identified (Plate II).

The importance of the embossed potsherd

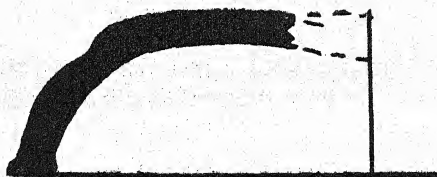
From the foregoing passages it has been noted that the potsherd is important from more than one standpoint that it depicts one of the life scenes of Buddha. So far the life scenes of Buddha and other events are found carved on the stones. In this particular connection the depiction of Māra's attack on Buddha on the potsherd clearly shows that an important land-mark in the Ceramic industries has been revolutionised by stamping the life scenes of Buddha on the pottery.

Though there are scenes of other stories embossed on the pottery, nowhere one comes across the life scenes of Lord Buddha on pottery wares. Secondly, from the point of view of the development of the figures of dwarfs, one may safely say that they belong to 3rd century A.D. or so.

Plate I →



Plate II →



A NOTE ON THE SĀRANĀTHA IMAGE OF AGNI

By

P. K. AGRAWALA, Varanasi

Dr. B. N. Mukherjee has written in Vol. XIX, No. 3, March 1970, pp. 273-4, of this *Journal* on the iconography of a stone sculpture in the Sāranātha Museum (No. 535/563/1955-56). According to him the present image should be identified 'as a representation of Kārttikeya or Skanda'. He has rightly pointed out the association of Agni and Skanda with the aid of several literary and epigraphic references. But, the identification of this image as proposed by him does not seem to be correct. Moreover, it is unfortunate that Dr. Mukherjee has taken no note of several previous writers who discussed and published the same image.

The sculpture was first published with its photograph in the *Indian Archaeology, 1955-56—A Review* (New Delhi, 1956), indeed with its correct identification as 'a fine image of Agni (pl. LXIX, A), discovered in the course of foundation-digging in the premises of the Chinese Temple at Sāranātha' (p. 60). Next it was published along with a very fine line-drawing by the late Prof. V. S. Agrawala as early as 1963, with relevant comments on the two attendant figures.¹ According to this authority "this standing figure of Agni has an aureole (*Prabhāmaṇḍala*) of flames (*arcīṃśi*). There are two male attendants, one with a peacock in Kumāra-Kārttikeya. The other figure is defaced but has a cock at the back. The cock was the earlier symbol in the Kuṣāṇa period and the peacock was substituted later in Gupta Age".²

There can hardly be any doubt that the principal figure is of Agni. The flames on all sides of the body of the figure are shown emanating from the god. For this characteristic feature of the early iconography of Agni we may refer to the images of this god from Mathura, Lacchagiri, Shahabad and elsewhere.³

In my study of Skanda-Kārttikeya, the sculpture in question was studied in further details, explaining several of its curious features in the iconography of Skanda, who here appears in his dual aspect as attending on Agni, his father according to the well known epic tradition of this myth. The following facts were noticed in this regard in the above study: "A curious stone image of

1 *Vision in Long Darkness* (Varanasi, 1963), pl. facing p. 14, and pp. 204-5.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5.

3 J. Ph. Vogel, "Note on a Stone Image of Agni", *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, 1933, p. 231 ff.; B. Ch. Chhabra, "Agni", *JISOA.*, Vol. III, 1935, pp. 45 ff.; S. C. Kala, "Lachchhagiri", *JUPHS.*, New Series, Vol. II, pt. 2, 1954, p. 36, pl. VI; R. C. Agrawala, "Agni in early Indian Art", *J. of Indian History*, Trivandrum, Vol. XLIII, No. 1, April 1965, pp. 154 ff.

Agni from Sāranātha provides an important study for Skanda iconography. It cannot be dated earlier than the seventh century, though illustrates an old theme elaborated in earlier literature. It shows a standing male figure clad in *dhōṭī*, whose portion above the waist is defaced and head and arms are fully gone. He is to be identified with Agni as the flames of fire are shown all round emanating from his body. On the two sides are portrayed two miniature figures in comparison to the main deity. The person on his right is no doubt Kārttikeya with his peacock. The head is obliterated but the god is shown as a boy or Kumāra standing with some unidentified object in his left hand and in the background is a peacock looking inside with its feathered tail spread out beautifully. The figure on the right side, now badly damaged, has a cock at the back which also is looking to the inner side."

"This sculpture is of utmost value for several points. In it we have the plastic representation of the well-known relationship of Agni and Kārttikeya, perhaps the latter depicted here in his two forms, Skanda and Viśākha. As could be gleaned from literature and also from art, the bird associated with Skanda in earlier tradition was cock. Nowhere in the Kuṣāṇa period the peacock is found with him which became adopted as his vehicle later and was shown so freely in Gupta art. This panel from Sāranātha indicates the transitional stage when a change in the *vāhana* of the god was taking place. In one form he is with cock and in another with peacock. It should be noted that usually *Kukkuṭa* was not shown as the vehicle of the deity but it accompanied him in sculpture as being held in one of his hands. As such it continued to be his favourite bird and emblem even when in the Gupta period a peacock served the god as his mount."¹

Besides, R. C. Agrawala in his paper on early Agni images made also a particular mention of this Sāranātha image of the god.²

Dr. Mukherjee appears to consider the two subsidiary figures as attendants of Kārttikeya, represented by the main figure according to him. This would indicate that the two human figures of small size on either side of the deity are simple human attendants having no status of any further significance and the two birds behind them are quite independent of them. This, however, does not seem to be the case here for in this sculpture the artist has employed iconographic details only scantily. Though the piece is much defaced yet it is clear in the light of the usual practice seen in the early and contemporary icons, i.e. Śiva standing against his bull, that the two human figures and the birds behind them are quite connected with one another in each group. This doubtless leads us to identify the figures, having his favourite birds, as those of two forms of

1 P. K. Agrawala, *Skanda-Kārttikeya, A Study in the Origin and Development* (Varanasi, 1967), p. 80.

2 *Op. cit.*

Skanda. If one is to only believe in Dr. Mukherjee's identification of the principle figure as Kārttikeya, we would offer to defend his case by suggesting that the ancillary figures then be taken to be of *Kukkuṭapurūṣa* and *Mayūrapurūṣa*. But that line of argument does not seem to stand in the light of the fire-flames shown on all sides of the main figure like many other known images of Agni, the Fire God. Moreover, it is against the style of Indian artist's representation known hitherto, particularly in the case of *vāhana-purūṣas* of Skanda.¹ Thus the principal figure is to be regarded as that of Agni, not of Kārttikeya, along with the fact that the two ancillary figures backed by a peacock and a cock represent Kārttikeya in his dual form of Skanda and Viśākha, suggested by the artist by portraying his two favourite birds, the peacock his vehicle and the cock his ensign or *dhvaja*-emblem.

The dual aspect of Skanda was not an unknown subject of early iconography. On one Huviṣka's coin we have two standing figures, one having a cock-standard and the other a spear, who are named on the coin itself as Skanda-Kumāra-Viśākha.² Besides literary references cited by us in our book on Skanda,³ further attention may now be drawn to certain Mathura reliefs showing Śaṣṭhī goddess flanked by two spear-carrying figures to be identified as Skanda and Viśākha, or Skanda in his dual aspect (Mathura Mus. Nos. F 3 ; 1244; 15.739; 54.363).⁴ The belief of Skanda and Viśākha as two sons of Agni is, however, well stated in the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* where Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are compared to them.⁵

1 R. C. Agrawala, "Skanda from National Museum, New Delhi and U. P. Hills", *East And West*, Vol. 18, Nos. 3-4, 1968, figs. 1-2.

2 P. K. Agrawala, *Skanda-Kārttikeya*, pp. 43-4.

3 Ibid., p. 44.

4 R. C. Agrawala, "Goddess Śaṣṭhī in Mathura Sculpture", *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 4, Dec. 1969, pp. 1 ff.; P. K. Agrawala, "Identification of the So-Called Nāgi Figures as Goddess Śaṣṭhī", *East and West*, Vol. 21, Nos. 3-4, 1971, pp. 325 ff.

5 N. P. Joshi, "Harivaṃśa ke Kuccha Kuṣāṇa-kālina Śloka", *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 8, Dec. 1971, pp. 4-5.

RĀMĀPURAM STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF VIKRAMĀDITYA I

By

G. JAWAHARLAL, Hyderabad

The inscription edited below, is engraved on a big rock lying in the field of Shri Liṅga Reddy, one mile from the east of the village, Rāmāpuram (Near Balapanūr) in the Pulivēṇḍla tālukā of the Cuḍḍapah district (A.P.).

The inscription is engraved on three sides of a rectangular block of stone of which two sides are broader than the third. The writing is neatly engraved in the typical Telugu-Kannaḍa script of the period. Due to the damage suffered by the stone, a few letters are obliterated here and there, but otherwise the record is quite well preserved. A peculiar feature of the record is that contrary to the usual practice it is engraved from the bottom instead of top so that it has to be read from the bottom upwards on all sides like the Amarāvati pillar inscription of the Pallava king Śimhavarman II.¹

The language of the inscription is archaic Telugu, containing words and expressions which are not quite intelligible. The syntax is interesting and the construction of sentences is somewhat twisted; for example, ' *ōtapāra-Rēvarē-gārikinūṭāmbhadi-maṭṭuḥulu-ichchiri-rāchamānambuna.* '

The inscription records the gift of 150 *maṭṭuḥulu* of land to Ōtapāra-Rēvarē known as Buddhiparamēśvara, the sav-ādhyakṣa of Siddhavaṭam, when Dharuṇavasanta, the ruler of the Rēnāḍu 7000 went on a pilgrimage to the place in the year in which his over-lord, Vikramāditya Pṛthivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara bhaṭṭāraka captured Kāñcī. The names of a few individuals are also mentioned as witnesses. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verse.

Since the inscription does not furnish any chronological data, palaeography forms the main basis for dating it. King Vikramāditya, the overlord of Dharuṇavasanta, belongs obviously as indicated by his titles, to the Western Cālukya royal family of Bādāmī. Among the Cālukya kings of Bādāmī, only two kings bore the name Vikramāditya. Both of them according to their records captured Kāñcī—the first of them from Iśvarapōtarāja, that is, the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I and the second from Parameśvaravarman II, and not from Nandipōtavarman as stated previously. Though the subjoined inscription is not dated and may thus belong to the reign of either of the two Vikramādityas, it may be assigned with great probability to Vikramāditya I, as it closely resem-

bles in palaeography and orthography the Dimmaguḍi record¹ of the same monarch.

Hitherto the Dimmaguḍi epigraph is generally taken to be dated in the 27th regnal year of the king. The term *ēṇḍu* in the expression “*Samvat-sarambulu-irubhadi-ēṇḍu*” does not mean, as understood, the *seven* but simply *year*. Grammatically ‘*irubhadi-ēṇḍu*’ cannot be interpreted as “27”, as the word *ēṇḍu* with the ‘*anunāsika*’ can signify only the year not the Telugu numeral ‘*seven*’, which does not contain the ‘*anunāsika*’. The expression ‘*irubhadi-ēṇḍu*’ can only be interpreted as 20th year. If this interpretation is correct, the Dimmaguḍi record can only be dated in the 20th year and not in the 27th (*irubhadi-ēṇḍu*) regnal year of Vikramāditya I. It does not give him a date two years beyond the latest date hitherto assigned to him.² Now it is clear in the light of these two records that Vikramāditya I captured Kāñcī in his 20th regnal year. This is corroborated by the evidence of the Gadvāl plates of Vikramāditya I dated also in his 20th regnal year wherein it is stated that he defeated Īśvarapōtarāja (Paramēśvara-varman I)³ and sieged the city of Kāñcī. Relying on the Dimmaguḍi record, the subjoined inscription can be assigned also to Vikramāditya’s 20th regnal year (A.D. 674-75), as we are told in this as in the Dimmaguḍi record that it was set up in the year in which he captured Kāñcī (*saṁvatsarambulu-irubhadi-ēṇḍu-agunēṭi-kāñcīn-gonina...*).⁴

Now the circumstances in which Vikramāditya I came to attack the Pallava capital Kāñcī may be briefly stated as follows. Narasimhavarman I, the father of Paramēśvaravarman I invaded the Western Cālukya kingdom in A.D. 642, sacked its capital Bādāmī, put to death Pulakēśin II the father of Vikramāditya I and annexed a large part of the Cālukya dominions. For thirteen years from A.D. 642 to 655 Cālukyan rule was in abeyance. Vikramāditya I who came to the throne in that year commenced a war with the Pallavas, the progress of which is indicated in his inscriptions. It is said in the Sohrab copper plates⁵ that he recovered the proper glory of his line ‘after defeating the Pallava king. In the Tālamañcī plates⁶ he is said to have gained for himself the royalty of his father which had been interrupted by confederacy of three kings. According to the Tōgarceḍu plates⁷ he seized the city of Kāñcī after defeating the leader

1 S.I.I. Vol. X, No. 24. p. 10; Annual Report No. 364 of 1920

2 A.R.E. 1920 part II

3 E.I. X, p. 105

4 Some letters of the Dimmaguḍi record can be deciphered in the light of the present Rāmāpuram record. In both the records the epithet Kāñcīn-gonina occurs which remains undeciphered in the Dimmaguḍi record (1.4 to 6....)

Vijayarāja-Saṁvatsarambulu-irubhadi-ēṇḍu-agunēṭi-Kāñcīn-goniṇa.

5 Ep. C. Vol. VIII

6 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX

7 J.B.B.R.A.S. XVI, p. 232

of the Pallavas who had been the cause of the discomfiture and the destruction of that family (of the Cālukyās) which was as pure as the rays of the moon. It is obvious from these references that the Pallavas occupied the part of the Cālukyan kingdom and it was recovered by Vikramāditya I.

We must now attempt to discover the Pallava king or kings with whom he has to fight for the recovery of the ancestral kingdom. The Gadvāl plates¹ dated A.D. 674 tell us that he 'crushed the glory of Narasiṃha', caused the prowess of Mahēndra to be dissolved; and subdued Išvara by mere eyes. It could thus appear that Vikramāditya I was the contemporary of three Pallava kings of Kāñci, namely Narasiṃhavarman I (A.D. 630-668), Mahēndravarman II (A.D. 668-670) and Paramēśvaravarman I (A.D. 670-690).

Although Vikramāditya I ascended the throne in A.D. 654 he seems to have invaded or rather say, subjugated the kingdom of the Pallavas in or about A.D. 674. This was due to fact that Narasiṃha was alive until A.D. 668 and so long as he was alive, he kept the Cālukya king at a respectable distance. Moreover, it is obvious from the following Epigraphical data that the situation of his home kingdom could not permit him to think of his enemy that is, the Pallavas:

(1) The Kurnool plates IV show that he made his grant soon after he destroyed all those rival kinsmen who were contending with him for the possession of the throne of his father (Sarvām-dāyādān-vijītya).

(2) The Kurnool plates II dated A.D. 657² say that (He) acquired for himself the (royal) fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings.

(3) The Tālamāñci plates³ dated A.D. 660 show us that (he) made the burden of the whole kingdom to be presided over by one (sole monarch).

(4) The Kurnool plates III dated A.D. 664 tell us that (he) confirmed the grants to gods and Brāhmins which had been confiscated under (those same) three kings.

It is obvious from these that Vikramāditya was very busy in reconquering the lost provinces of his father's kingdom, and making himself the supreme ruler of it during the first ten years of his reign. It was not possible for him to think of invading the Pallava kingdom then. Dr. N. Veṅkatarāmānaya⁴ may be right in saying that no doubt there is a reference of the Pallavas in these records; but they were in occupation of the Cālukyan kingdom. So he had to

1 Epi. Ind. X, p. 100 ff.

2 J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XVI

3 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX

4 Madras Christian College, Madras, October, 1927

fight with them for acquiring the lost provinces of his father's kingdom ". Hence it could not have been possible for Vikramāditya I to have undertaken an invasion of a foreign country.

(5) The Sañjān plates of Buddhavarśa dated A.D. 671.¹ He was an uncle of Vikramāditya I. It does not contain any reference to the Pallavas.

(6) The Navasari plates of Śīlāditya dated A.D. 671.² He was a nephew of Vikramāditya I. This inscription mentions the Pallavas. Although the Sañjān plates and the Navasari plates are issued in the same year, the former is silent about the Pallavas. We may infer from this that the Cālukyan invasion of the Pallava kingdom was of recent occurrence.

(7) The Hyderabad plates³ mention the three Pallava kings who were the contemporaries of Vikramāditya I. According to Dr. N. Veṅkataramanayya they must be dated later than A.D. 670.⁴

(8) The Gadvāl plates⁵ dated A.D. 674 refer to the three Pallava kings who were the adversaries of Vikramāditya I. They show clearly that Vikramāditya I invaded the Pallava country, entered the Cōlika Viśaya and pitched his tents at Uraiyr.

The foregoing analysis shows that during the first ten years of his reign Vikramāditya was busy in setting his kingdom in order; in the next four or five years, he was waiting a favourable opportunity to invade the kingdom of his enemies. The death of Narasimhavarman I and the succession of a weak king like Mahēndra II offered him an excellent chance of invasion. Mahēndra II ruled only for short period of two years. He could not evidently offer effective resistance to the invader but suffered defeat at his hands ; for Vikramāditya, as a matter of fact claims to have dissolved his prowess. He appears to have died, while the invasion was in progress. Paramēśvara I succeeded his father in A.D. 670 according to Dubrueil. At that time, the enemies of his family, i.e., the Cālukyas were already masters of a good part of his kingdom. His capital had fallen into their hands, his army was defeated and discouraged. Vikramāditya I entered the Cōlika-Viśaya. Paramēśvara I rose equal to the occasion. He strengthened the fortifications of his capital ; collected his beaten and dispirited troops and led them personally against the enemy. The contending armies met at Peruvālanallūr. A fierce fight ensued. But the result of the battle cannot be stated definitely, for the inscriptions of the Pallavas give credit to Paramēśvara for victory and the inscriptions of the Cālukyas on the

1 Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV

2 Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII

3 Ind. Ant. Vol. VI, p. 78; and S.I.L., Vol. I, p. 145

4 M.C.C. Magazine, October 1927

5 Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 100 ff.

contrary to Vikramāditya. Dr. N. Veṅkataramanayya believes that the Peruvālanāllūr battle resulted in the complete defeat of the Cālukya army, and cites in support of this evidence of the Kurām grant¹ of Paramēśvara I which asserts that he forced Vikramāditya, whose army consisted of several lakhs of men, to take flight covered only by a rag, besides, this is corroborated by the later Pallava inscriptions² according to which Paramēśvara I gained victory over the forces of the Vallabha in a battle at Peruvālanāllūr and captured the city Raṇaraśika³ i.e. Bādāmī.

(8) Prof. K. A. N. Sastry⁴ on the contrary thinks that "we need not accept the exaggerated claims made for Paramēśvara I in the Kurām grant but there is little reason to doubt that the Pallava ruler gained his main objective and disappointed the invader by forcing him to retreat into his own territory....

Prof. Sastry has not stated his reasons for regarding the claims of Paramēśvara I in the Kurām plates as exaggerated. The available evidence in the later W. Cālukyan records indicate that the statement in the Kurām grant is substantially true.

We are told in the Jējūri record⁵ of Vinayāditya, son and successor of Vikramāditya I, that he (Vinayāditya) having at the command of his father (Vikramāditya I) arrested the over-elated army of the Pallavas whose kingdom consisted of three (component) dominions, like Sēnānī who, at the bidding of (his father) Bālēnduśekhara, did arrest the army of the Daityas, and pleased his (father's) mind by bringing all provinces (of his kingdom) into a state of peace.⁶ It is clear that the passage refers to a Pallava invasion of the Cālukya kingdom during the reign of Vikramāditya I himself. Dr. N. Veṅkataramanayya⁷ has said that on account of some reason or other Vikramāditya I was not able to command his army personally. But he could not express what that reason was. It is not unlikely that Paramēśvara I sent forces under Sirttōṇḍar⁸ into the Cālukya country when Vikramāditya I camped at Cōlikā-viśaya in order to divide the enemy's forces before the Pēruvālanāllūr battle took place". Prof. Sastry⁹ has wrongly stated that the home territory was ruled and guarded by his son Vinayāditya and his grandson Vijayāditya during Vikramāditya I's ab-

1 S.I.I. Vol. I, p. 152

2 Conjivaram inscriptions of Rājasimha (i.e., Mahēndra III) S.I.I. I, p. 23

3 Another inscription of the same king, S.I.I. I, p. 13

4 Early History of the Deccan, Parts I-IV

5 Ep. Indica Vol. IX, p. 62

6 M.C.C. Magazine, October 1927

7 Ibid

8 Prof. Sastry stated that Siṣṭtōṇḍar is best placed in the period of Paramēśvara I. Early history of the Deccan (1-4).

9 Early History of the Deccan, Part: I-IV

sence; for, the Rāyagaḍ plates¹ of Vijayāditya dated A.D. 703 give the story of a northern expedition of Vinayāditya in which his son Vijayāditya played prominent part, while his grandfather was on his conquering expedition to the south. Very likely as soon as Vikramāditya faced reverses at Pēruvālanāllūr battle and having known of the despatch of the Pallava troops into his home territory, he sent a message to his son and grandson, who were then engaged on northern expedition to return home and protect the capital city Bādāmī at least. According to the Jējūri² and Kēndūri plates³, Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya were quite equal to the task of beating back the Pallava army under Śiṛuttōṇḍur, though, no doubt, only after a hard fight as that army seems to have advanced as far as Vātāpi and sacked the city. If the home territory was really ruled and guarded by his son Vinayāditya and his grandson Vijayāditya, during the absence of Vikramāditya I as stated by Prof. Sastry, they would certainly have stemmed the advance of the exultant forces of the lord of Kāñci before they enter their home territory. Perhaps due to their absence from the home territory they seem to have come a bit late by which time, the Pallava general had already sacked their capital city.

This temporary occupation of Vātāpi and retreat of Vikramāditya from the battle-field may have been the ground for the claim of the victory of Paramēśvara I in the Kurām grant.

The subjoined inscription refers to Dharuṇavasanta the ruler of Rēnaḍu. So far as known at present the name of Dharuṇavasanta does not find place among the Rēnaḍu Cōla kings.⁴ Then, who was this Dharuṇavasanta of the present record? A chief of the name of Vikramāditya the ruler of Turumaraviśaya with the titles Dharuṇavasanta and Sāmantakēsari figures as a subordinate of the W. Cālukya Vijayāditya in a record at Betapalli⁵ in the Anantapur district. The Kōṇḍupalli record⁶ of Vijayāditya refers to a battle (on behalf of the king) in which the rulers of Turumaraviśaya (modern gooty taluka) were vanquished by the chief Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja, son of Narasiṃhabāṇarāja. Bāṇa chiefs governed this territory as vassals of the Western Cālukya kings as shown by other inscriptions. Here I am tempted to identify Vikramāditya Bali Bāṇarāja of Betapalli and Kōṇḍupalli record with Dharuṇavasanta of the present record. Very likely, the title Dharuṇavasanta may have been given to his vassal, Vikramāditya Balibāṇarāja by his overlord the Cālukya Vikramāditya I

1 Ep. Ind. Vol. X, p. 14

2 Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX, p. 62 ff.

3 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 202 ff.

4 Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVIII, p. 234

5 A.R. No. 333 of 1920

6 A.R. No. 359 of 1920

when he captured Kāñci.¹ In addition to Dharuṇavasanta, Sāmatakēsari was given by Vijayāditya, perhaps only after the Turumaraviśaya was conquered by him.² Now it is clear that Vikramāditya Bali Bāṇarāja, son of Narasiṃha Bāṇarāja, who was then popularly hailed as Dharuṇavasanta and Sāmatakēsari acted as subordinate chief to both Vikramāditya I and Vijayāditya, so he might have flourished in between A.D. 674 to A.D. 721³.

The province over which the Bāṇas and the Telugu Cōḍa kings apparently ruled is stated to have been the Rēnāḍu-seven thousand. It is roughly the country between the two tributaries of the river Pēnna viz., the Citrāvati in the north-west and Cēyyapēru in the south-west comprising a modern Kamalāpuram, Prōdduṭūr and Jammalamaḍugu talukas and parts of Koilkunṭla in Kurnool District and parts of Anantapur districts. It has been supposed by Shri H. K. Sastry that Rēnāḍu means 'black-soil' country which is traced in the regions along the valley of the Kundu river. The explanation is rather fanciful. The real meaning of the term appears to be 'the country of the king or Rēḍu'.

Of the other place names, Siddhavaṭam, is obviously the present Siddhavaṭ, Cuddapah district. One stone epigraph from Mālēpāḍu adds the district Siddhi—
—one thousand, perhaps the same as the present Siddhavaṭ taluka.

Rāmāpuram stone Inscription of Vikramāditya I

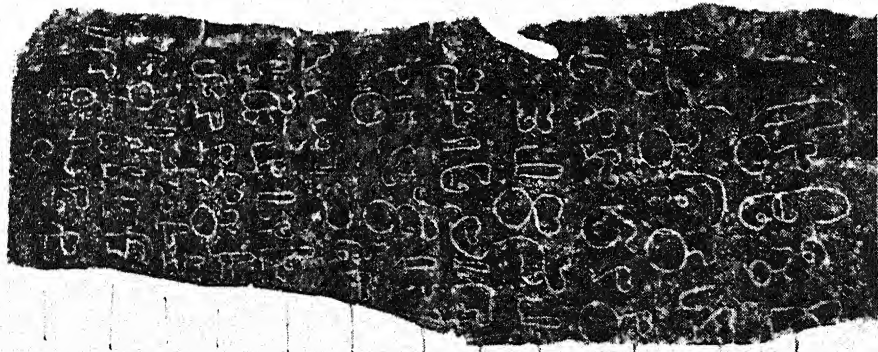
TEXT FIRST FACE

- (12) mēśvarlu
- (11) dyakṣaya [bu] buddhi para
- (10) du cu-bhaṭārani sarva-
- (9) cu-siddhavaṭam-bā
- (8) ntul-rēnāḍḍēlu
- (7) ēṇḍu-dharuṇavasa
- (6) raḷ-kāñci-gōṇina-
- (5) paramēśvara-bhaṭā
- (4) rājādhirāja-
- (3) vī-vallabha-mahā
- (2) māditya-prīdhi-
- (1) svasti-śrī-vikra-

1 Dimmagudi record—Samvatsarambul-irubhadi-ēṇḍu Kāñcin-gōṇina.

2 Koṇḍupalli record dated A.D. 720 of Vijayāditya, A.R. No. 359 of 1920]

3 Dharuṇavasanta may have ruled still more years as the undated Bētapalli inscription has referred to him.



First Face



Second Face



Third Face

Rāmāpuram Stone Inscription of Vikramāditya I



SECOND FACE

- (10)
 (9) mudut[u-ācaḍlu
 (8) lu-vāgi-ma[u va]u
 (7) pāru-panṭi paṭi-pā
 (6) ā[la]mbunapāru-nē[rpi]
 (5) ki-sāksi-va[cu]vaṭlu
 (4) rācamānambuna-dēni
 (3) tuṭlu-pannasa-ichhiri
 (2) gāriki-nūṭṭēmbhadi-maṭu
 (1) [-ō]ṭa-pāṭarēvaṭe

THIRD FACE

- (11)
 (10) vilalu
 (9) vuḷu vēga
 (8) vēsēṭu
 (7) laṃbuḷu
 (6) vē-dēvagu
 (5) vra-pāru
 (4) raṇāsi-vē[ē]
 (3) navānru ..
 (2) vakraṃbu — —
 (1) Chhiri — —

THE INITIAL PERIOD OF THE SILVER COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

By

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI, Nagpur

The Sātavāhanas issued their coins mostly in base metals like copper, lead and potin. In a later period of their history they also started a coinage in white metal, obviously in imitation of the silver issues of their adversaries, the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawad. However, as compared to the coins in cheap metals, their silver issues known so far are rather scarce. Till now only about a dozen silver coins have been reported.¹ But there is no doubt that these represent only a small fraction of the silver currency introduced by Sātavāhanas in their dominions. However, curious as it might appear, like the beginnings of the Sātavāhana currency in general the initial period of the silver coinage of the Sātavāhanas is also shrouded in obscurity.

The solution of this problem depends, to a large extent, on the correct interpretation and attribution of a unique silver coin published by A. S. Altekar about quarter of a century ago.² Weighing 30 grains and measuring .7 inches in diameter, it bears a six peaked hill, with a dot in each of its arches, on a platform, below a wavy line and the Brāhmī legend commencing from the top of the hill—*raño-Gotami*... on the obverse, and the Ujjayinī symbol with a pellet in each of its orbs on the reverse.³

1 Of these, one belongs to Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāvi (H. V. Trivedi, *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-3, Pl. I. 1-2), four to Vāsiṣṭhipura Sātakarṇi (A. S. Altekar, *ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 59-63, Pl. II. 5-6; Dinkar Rao, *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 9-12, Pl. I. 4; Altekar, *ibid.*, pp. 13-17; D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 247-52 and Pls. facing pp. 250-51; S. Ramayya, *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 32-36, Pl. II. 6; *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 74-79; another silver coin of this king is reported to be in the cabinet of S. M. Shukla of Bombay, *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 107), and seven to Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi (E. J. Rapson, *BMC, AWK*, pp. lxxxix-xc, 45, Pl. VII; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 208, Pl. LXV. 22; S. K. Katare, *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 126-32; Vol. XIII, pp. 46-51; Altekar, *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 132-33; Vol. XIII, pp. 51-52; P. V. Ranade, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 98-99, Pl. I. 8; K. D. Bajpai, *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and coins from Excavations* (Ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, p. 30, Pl. I. 6). I have seen another, portrait coin of Śrī-yajña with Dr. M. C. Chaubay of Jabalpur. Another silver coin in two pieces doubtfully attributed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi has been published by P. L. Gupta, *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 107-9, P. VI. 1-1A. Still another silver coin is the one under discussion.

2 *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 111-13.

3 The Photograph of the obverse seems to be defective. The peaks of the hill appear to be laid sideways and not vertically as usual, and the inscription is not clear. At p. 112, crescented six-arched hill is described, by oversight, as on the reverse.

Although the incompleteness of the legend rendered the identification of the issuer difficult,¹ from such other indications as were available, Altekar attributed this coin to Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇī.² His view was mainly based on Rapson's observation that the change from the three-arched *caitya* (hill) to the six-arched one took place during the reign of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇī³ and on the close resemblance between this coin and some lead coins of the Āndhradeśa fabric attributed by Rapson to this king.⁴ He surmised that Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇī probably signalised his reconquest of the portions of Gujarat and Malwa not only by issuing silver portrait coins, but also by striking inscribed silver coins of the Āndhradeśa type.⁵ Another reason which must have prompted Altekar's suggestion probably was that, at that time, silver coins of only Yajña Sātakarṇī were known. Differing from Altekar, P. J. Chinmulgund proposed to identify the issuer of this coin with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī mainly on the ground that, while counter-striking the silver coins of Nahapāna, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī used both the three-arched and six-arched varieties of the hill device with or without dots in the arches and with or without crescent at the top.⁶ He also indicated the remote possibility of the coin in question being actually an issue of Nahapāna restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī.⁷ In his comments on Chinmulgund's paper⁸ and elsewhere⁹ Altekar reiterated his view which seems to have been by and large accepted by numismatists.

However, since the publication of the above coin over two decades earlier, much new material has come to light rendering a reappraisal of the whole question imperative. Silver coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇī which were not known then have been published in the interval. And since the problem has a great bearing on the beginning and history of the Sātavāhana silver coins, it is discussed here afresh in the light of the new evidence.

Firstly, the representation of the six-peaked hill was the main argument in favour of assigning this coin to Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇī. Even bar-

1 There were two Gautamīputras in the family, viz., Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī and Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇī.

2 It must be said in fairness to Altekar that he considered, but rejected the possibility of this coin being issued by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī. *Vide JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 111-12.

3 *BMC, ANK*, pp. lxxii-lxxiii.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37, Pl. VI, Nos. 139-46.

5 *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 112.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 93-94; Vol. X, pp. 22-23. For the Jogalthambhi hoard containing Nahapāna's restruck coins, see *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXII, pp. 223-44. For counter-striking devices, see *JNSI*, Vol. XVII (ii), pp. 97-99.

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 94.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96; Vol. X, p. 24.

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 3.

ring the devices employed by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in restamping Nahapāna's silver coins which, as pointed out above, include the six-peaked hill, there is enough evidence to prove that the device was quite popular with the predecessors of Yajña Sātakarṇi. The Madras Government Museum has some lead coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi¹ and one coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi² bearing the six-peaked hill on the obverse and the Ujjayinī symbol on the reverse. Some lead coins of this type with the legend *raño Gotamiputasa Siri-Sātakaṇisa* were published by Rapson who, however, attributed them to Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi even though they do not bear the king's personal name Yajña.³ These coins actually appear to have been issued by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.⁴ Moreover, we also have silver issues of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi⁵ and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi,⁶ which show on the reverse crescented six-peaked hill as one of the major devices, the other being the Ujjayinī symbol. It would thus follow that the six-peaked hill symbol has no bearing on the attribution of this coin as it was used at least by four Sātavāhana rulers, viz., Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi. The only inference one can draw from the occurrence of this symbol is that it could not have been issued by any king before Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who appears to have introduced it for the first time on the coins of this dynasty.

Let us now institute a comparative study of the silver coins of the Sātavāhanas about whose attribution there is no room for doubt and see if they furnish any indication about the attribution of the present coin. Three Sātavāhana rulers are definitely known to have issued silver coins. They are Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi. The silver issues of all these kings are almost uniform as regards their obverse and reverse devices. The obverse shows the bust of the king to right while the reverse bears the Ujjayinī symbol on left and six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent with a zigzag line below on right as the principal symbols. They can be distinguished from one another as issues of different ruling chiefs only by referring to legends which give the names and titles of the

1 M. Rama Rao, *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Government Museum, Madras* (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, General Section, Vol. III, No. 2, Madras, 1959), pp. 2-3, 15, Nos. 14-22

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 15, No. 23

3 *BMC, AWK*, pp. 36-37

4 Cf. Rama Rao, *op cit.*, pp. 2-3

5 *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-3, Pl. I. 1-2

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 59-63; Pl. II. 5-6; Vol. XXI, pp. 9-12, 13-17, Pl. I. 4-4a; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 247-52, Pls. facing pp. 250-51; *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 32-36, Pl. II. 6; Vol. XXX, pp. 74-79, Pl. IX. 15.

issuing kings. This type was evidently introduced by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi¹ and adhered to by his successors without a single exception. The fact that except the dubious coin under consideration no silver coin of any other types is known to have been issued by any Sātavāhana ruler shows that it had become well-established as the sole type for the silver coins of the dynasty. Under these circumstances, it was neither necessary nor possible for Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇī to revert to the type employed by his great ancestor for counter-striking the silver coins of Nahapāna, and issue the present coin. Moreover, as is well-known, coinage in India was local in character and generally different types were chosen for coins in different metals. For instance, not a single portrait coin of the Sātavāhanas is known in any metal other than silver. It follows from the above that the present coin can, by no stretch of imagination, be attributed to Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇī. It could have, therefore, been struck by the only other Gautamīputra of the dynasty, i.e., Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī.

A comparison of the legend on the present coin on the one hand and those on the normal Sātavāhana silver issues on the other also points in the same direction. The latter bear legends on both sides, that on the reverse showing definite Dravidian elements in certain respects.² The coin under study, which, like the silver pieces of Nahapāna counter-struck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī, bears legend only on the obverse, has, therefore, got to be placed in the period prior to the introduction of the double-legend silver coins.

The above conclusion is also supported by a study of the circumstances under which the silver coinage of the Sātavāhanas originated. Many Sātavāhana rulers prior to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī are known to have issued a variety of coins. But all these coins are in base metals like lead, copper and potin. Not a single silver issue of the pre-Gautamīputra period is known. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī also, like his predecessors, contented himself, for a major part of his reign, by striking cheap metals. It was only towards the close of his reign that circumstances forced him to think seriously of issuing coins in white metal. His victory over the Kṣaharāta Mahākṣatrapa Nahapāna necessitated the issue of a

1 P. L. Gupta published a silver portrait coin broken into two pieces and tentatively attributed it to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī. *Vide JNSI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 107-9, Pl. VI. 1-1A. But the reading of the legend is, as admitted by Gupta himself, very doubtful and renders the suggested attribution uncertain. It has recently been suggested on stylistic grounds that the piece belongs to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī. See P. R. K. Prasad in *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations* (Ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, pp. 68-70). Only a better preserved specimen can solve this problem. In case, however, this coin was actually issued by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī, the credit of initiating the bust type silver coins also will have to be accorded to him.

2 For discussion on this point, see references in the first footnote of this paper. The reverse legend on Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇī's coins was correctly read and interpreted by D. C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 247 ff.; *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1968, pp. 107 ff.

silver coinage to meet the requirements of the newly acquired provinces which were accustomed to the use of such coins. The conqueror tried to meet this requirement at first by restamping the coins of his vanquished enemy with his own devices and legend. But as he had no silver types of his own, he used one of the types of his lead coins, which he had himself partly introduced, for this purpose, *i.e.*, three-or six-arched hill with or without dots in the arches, sometimes surmounted by crescent, on the obverse, and the Ujjayinī symbol with or without pellets in the orbs on the reverse. Such coins have been found in large numbers in the famous Jogalthambhi hoard. These coins also served the additional purpose of announcing his victory over his foe. These restruck pieces, however, could not meet the requirements of the newly annexed provinces for ever, and Gautamīputra Sātākarnī, therefore, decided to issue his own silver coinage. And for this purpose he utilised the same type with which he had earlier counter-struck the coins of Nahapāna. The coin under reference is a specimen of this independent silver currency. As Gautamīputra started this coinage late in his reign, it was issued in small numbers; hence the paucity of such coins. Most of the northern provinces acquired by him were lost to the Sātavāhanas during the reign of his successor, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, as a result of the energetic and expansionist military policy pursued by the Kārdamaka Mahākṣatrapas Caṣṭana and Rudradāman I. However, towards the end of his reign he seems to have reconquered some of these provinces and thought of issuing silver currency for these reoccupied areas. Probably the experience of the independent silver coinage introduced by his father was not very happy as the regions for which it was meant were used to portrait coins in silver and so Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi decided to issue bust coins. But while he gave his bust on the obverse of these coins, he took full care to accommodate both the obverse and reverse devices of the silver currency introduced by his great father on the reverse of these coins. These issues, though differing from the Kārdamaka ones as regards the reverse devices, were apparently well received by the people and became established as the standard type of the Sātavāhana silver coinage. History repeated itself over two centuries later when the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Vikramāditya extinguished the Kārdamaka Śaka rule from Malwa and Gujarat and minted his own silver currency to replace the Śaka Kṣatrapa issues. He, too, retained the obverse type of the vanquished enemy supplanting the reverse devices by his own.

To sum up, it may be concluded that the credit of initiating an independent Sātavāhana silver currency is undoubtedly due to the great Gautamīputra Sātākarnī. The newly introduced type was continued by his successors on the reverse of their silver coins while the obverse was occupied by the royal bust.

PULAKEŚIN II AND PERSIA

By

BIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH, Bodh-Gaya

The Arab historian Tābari¹ informs that in the 30th year of the reign of Khusru II of Persia, Paramēśvara, the king of India, sent to the Persian Court an embassy with a letter of greetings.² This is also attested by a painting in cave No. 1 of the Ajantā Caves.³ But this interpretation of the Picture as well as the identification of Indian king mentioned by Tābari with Pulakeśin II, the king of the early Cālukya dynasty of Badami, have been questioned by several scholars. Ettinghousen⁴ doubts Noldeke's restoration of Purumesa into Pulakeśa. He suggests that it should be taken as Pulakeśin. Foucher's view is that no historical scenes were represented anywhere in Ajantā caves.⁵ Professor R. C. Majumdar relates Tābari passage to Harṣavardhana of Puṣyabhūti dynasty⁶ rather than Pulakeśin II of the early Cālukya period on the following grounds :

(i) In the first place, the geographical considerations favour this hypothesis, Harṣa's empire being closer to Persia, and there being an old and frequented route between the two countries. It is true that there was a sea-route between Persia and China via Indian coast. But this must have been less convenient and more tedious than the former.⁷

(ii) We have actual references to intercourse between Harṣa's kingdom and Persia. For, according to Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Harṣa's horses were brought from Persia (Cowell, p. 50). This fact, according to Majumdar, is further substantiated by Lāmā Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian who says that a Persian king presented horses to the King of Madhyadeśa and the latter sent in return a few elephants (Tārānātha, Trans. by Schiefner, p. 94). Irrespective of Chronology, this statement vouches for a close intercourse between Persia and that part of India over which Harṣavardhana ruled.

(iii) It is quite clear from some expressions used by Bāṇabhaṭṭa that the conquest of Persia was not regarded by Harṣa's chiefs as beyond the range of practical policies. For, among the bravadoes uttered by them we must cite the following "the hand of the Turushkas is to the brave but a cubit. Persia is only a span".

(iv) Again, Tārānātha states that Harṣa once upon a time built a great religious edifice of wood, not far from Maujusthāna (probably Multan). There he invited a large number of the *Mlechchas* and burnt about twelve thousand of them together with their scriptures. As a result of this, the religion of the Persians and the Śakas was little practised for nearly a century. According to

him, we need not critically examine this story, for, it is palpably absurd, but it shows popular tradition has preserved the reminiscence of a close and intimate relationship between Persia and India during Harṣa's rule.

(v) Lastly, the Persian king refers to the Indian monarch as 'the king of India'. As Persia and western countries in general were more intimately associated with Northern India, the term 'king of India' could hardly apply to one who did not rule in the north.

Thus, Majumdar concludes "while there is no so much detailed evidence, direct or indirect about the intercourse between Persia and Harṣavardhana's empire, we hardly possess a single scrap of evidence connecting Pulakeśin II with the kingdom of Khusru II. It is, therefore, legitimate to hold, at least, as a working hypothesis, that the king of India who sent embassies to Khusru II of Persia was Harṣavardhana and not Pulakeśin II."⁸

There is, however, no reason to doubt the fact of an Indian embassy to the Persian Court, which according to Tābari, the great Arab historian (A.D. 838-921) was received by Khusru in the thirty-sixth year of his reign (A.D. 625-626). The name of the Indian king who sent the embassy is given in the printed list of Tābari as FRMISHA and the variants QRMISA and QRMISIA are noted.⁹

Regarding the identity of this king, Ferqusson quotes from a communication from Noldeke, the renowned scholar of Arabic; "We may, therefore, assume PH R MISHA is intended, or as the Arabs use 'Ph' to the Persian 'P' and 'I' for the Persian 'E', we must write the name PRMESHA. At the same time, as "R" and "L" are written with the same sign in Pehlavi, so is "R" to be taken as a false mode of expressing "L". As "M" may be substituted by "K" (Q) in the Arabic or in the Pehlavi, it follows that the name may be correctly read as "Pulakeśa". In his German translation of Tābari, Noldeke states more cautiously: "The correct form is probably Pulukeśa (with the Palatal sibilant)".¹⁰

It is possible to agree with Noldeke only up to a certain extent and take FRMESHA as the correct name of the Indian king as known to Tābari, but it is certainly too much of a textual violence to correct it to Pulakeśa.¹¹ There is no doubt that Von Gutschmidt hints upon the correct Indian equivalent when he observes that the word represents nothing more than the usual Indian royal title *Paramēśa*, 'the supreme lord'.¹² It is certainly permissible to go a step further and take *Paramēśvara* as the correct form of the word.

This restoration of the word points to the conclusion that the embassy was sent by an Indian king who styled himself *Paramēśvara*. This title which became along with the two others *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*¹³, an almost indispensable royal title in the early medieval days. So far as we are aware, firstly it was adopted by Yaśodharman of Mālwa in the first half of the

sixth century A.D., but did not become common till a few centuries later. In the period with which we are concerned, even Harṣa of Kanauj did not, thus, style himself as the title does not occur in his official documents. Bāṇa no doubt twice refers to Harṣa as *Parameśvara*.¹⁴ But in one of these cases the word is a double entendre (the comparison being with Śiva) used along with the similar words i.e. (Puruṣottama = Viṣṇu). In other case, it is only one of the many pompous titles attributed to Harṣa and has little bearing on actual facts. The same title again is used for Harṣa in a Navasari Copper plate of A.D. 706 in which it is stated that Daddā II, the great grandfather of the author of the grant, afforded protection to a chief of Valabhī, who had been deputed by Parmeśvara, the illustrious Harṣa.¹⁵ As this is a late document, its value on the point under discussion may be regarded as dubious. As the title does not occur in the documents issued by Harṣa himself in the Banskhera and Madhuban copper plates and the Soṇapat and Nālandā seals; it cannot be regarded as one of the recognized official dignities adopted by Harṣa. If it is assumed that it was Harṣa who was responsible for the embassy to Khusru's court in A.D. 625-626 it is difficult to explain why he should subscribe himself as *Parameśvara* in his message to the Persian king and omit this title in his own copper plate issued in A.D. 628 and A.D. 631, though retaining this in the two other titles *Paramabhṛtāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*.¹⁶ On the other hand, we have sufficient reference to point to the fact that Pulakeśin II of the early Cālukya dynasty bore the title *Parameśvara*¹⁷ and that his immediate successors made a special display of it in their inscriptions.

Besides this, we have additional historical facts to contradict the hypothesis of Professor Majumdar. In the first place, we cannot agree with him that Harṣa's empire was close to Persia. On the other hand, we can safely say that the empire of Pulakeśin II was closer to Persia. Valabhī, Gurjaras and the Mālavas were the allies of Pulakeśin II, whereas the empire of Harṣa could not make any headway beyond Thaneshvara as Majumdar himself says.¹⁸ Of course, there was a frequented route between the two countries by land but the presence of a sea-route also cannot be ignored. The existence of a sea-route is vouched by Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa*¹⁹ where Raghu is said to have proceeded to Persia by the land-route no doubt implying that an alternative sea-route also existed.²⁰

Majumdar cites two instances to substantiate his view that Harṣa's horses were brought from Persia as mentioned by Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Quoting Tārānātha he says, "the Persian king presented horses to the king of Madhyadeśa and in return he got elephants". Here he does not care for chronology. The Persian horses were famous in ancient times and generally all the kings of India brought horses from Persia. According to Tārānātha, the king of Madhyadeśa received horses from Persia and in return he got the elephants. This shows that there was a good demand for Persian horses but does not prove the fact that the

embassies were exchanged and there was a personal friendship between the two kings.

As regards Tārānātha's mention of the killing of the *Mlechchas* and burning of their scriptures by Harṣa, we may say that this is not a historical fact, and such absurd things cannot be taken to prove the historicity of Harṣa-Persia relations. And, even if we accept it, how could then be a friendly relation between the two hostile kings?

His last argument is that Pulakeśin II did not rule over the north and only those kings were called 'king of India' who ruled in North, it must have been Harṣa and not Pulakeśin II. Here we would like to point out that there were many south Indian kings who were called the kings of India. Above all, we know that Pulakeśin II had defeated Harṣavardhana. This being the case, if Khusru II calls him the 'King of India', there is nothing wrong in it.

B. Ghosh in his article 'Pulakeśin II and Persia' hints at a king named Sahi Tigina who is known from his coins and has been called the master of Takan and Khurasan in the Pahlavi legend and the 'Supreme lord' of India and Iran in the Nāgari legend of his coins, and states that he may be the king who sent the embassy to the Persian court. Thus, he raises the following points to support his hypothesis: 'In the first place Sahi Tigina bore the title *Parameśvara*, secondly he called himself the king of India i.e. the Indus region, which the India *Par-excellence* to the western countries and thirdly he and a king Vasudeva almost certainly belonged to same Sassanian dynasty, as is evident from their coin types as well as the use of Sassanian Pahlavi on their coins (Cf. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 30), and what is more important, according to him, were in same way intimately connected with Khusru II himself, their coins having the same with their undoubted Sassanian officiation and their territory close to Persia, is more likely to have responsible for the embassy to the Persian court than any other contemporary Indian king'. Thus, according to B. Ghosh, the embassy was only a local affair, with no bearing on the main political history of India.²³

But B. Ghosh is himself not very much serious about his hypothesis. In the same article, he further states, that 'there is, however, one objection to this hypothesis: the correspondence between an Indo-Sassanian prince and Khusru must have been in Pahlavi and it is unlikely that the former should mention his Indian title *Parameśvara* and not its Pahlavi equivalent in his letter, as he does in the Pahlavi legend on his coins'.²⁴

Besides this, it does not seem convincing that the exchange of a local embassy would have been mentioned with such a prominence by the historian like Tābari. Above all, a small king of Sindhu region would not have got recognition from the king like Khusru II as the 'king of India'.

Thus, where we have not sufficient material to identify the king of India with Harṣa and Sahi Tigina, we have certain important historical materials to say that it was Pulakeśin II who sent the embassy to the Persian court. The date of Ajantā cave No. I has been fixed in between A.D. 610 to A.D. 630 which depicts the picture of embassy and during this period Pulakeśin II flourished. Secondly, Ajantā and its neighbouring territories formed the part of Pulakeśin II's empire. Thirdly, Hiuen-Tsang mentions that the fame of Pulakeśin II reached far and wide. Fourthly, Pulakeśin II was the greatest king of India at that time who even defeated Harṣavardhana, the lord of entire Uttarāpātha as borne out by several historical facts, and lastly, which is more important that all the early Persian relations came to be established with South India or with Western India. Thus, we have solid historical reference that the Persians came to India and settled down in the Ṭhāṇā district of Mahārāshṭra which was the part of Pulakeśin II's empire as early as 7th century A.D.²⁴ This shows that the relationship between the two States continued. The above facts, therefore, leaves no ground to doubt that it was Pulakeśin II who sent the embassy to the Persian court during the time of Khusrū II.

References

1. Abu Jāgar Mohammad Tābari, who flourished from the middle of the ninth to the early in the tenth century of our era, in his great work generally known as the *Annals* but more correctly termed as the *History of the Prophet and Kings*, dealt with the history of mankind from the creation down to 915 A.D. It has been translated from the Persian edition and published in French by Professor Zotenberg. Noldeke, the renown scholar of Persian also translated Tābari's work in German entitled *Geschichte der Perser Und Araber Zur Zeit der Sassa niden*.
2. Noldeke, *Geschichte*, p. 371 & fn.
3. Fergusson, *JRAS*, XI, Ns. 1879 pp. 155 ff;
Yazdani, *Ajanta Caves*, Text. I, pp. 46 ff;
Cf. *L'Art Greco: Boundhique du Gandhara Tome*, II, p. 151;
Coomaraswamy, *History of India and Indonesian Art*, p. 99
4. *Harshavardhana*, pp. 52 ff.
5. *Journal of Andhra Archaeological Society*, 1919-20, pp. 99-100
6. *JIH*, IV, Pt. II, p. 29 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 32
8. *Ibid.*, p. 33
9. Tābari, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1881-82, pp. 1052-53
The Indian embassy is also referred to the Persian translation of Tābari by Balami (10th century) without specification of the King's name (Cf. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Tabare*, 1869, II, p. 339).

10. Noldeke, *Geschichte*, p. 371 & fn.
11. *JBRS*. XXX, p. 187
12. *ZDMG*. XXXIV, p. 746; This has been suggested by others, see Ettinghausen, *Harshavardhana*, p. 53
13. Beni Prasad's statement (*State in Ancient India*, p. 290) that from the Gupta Period onwards an independent king generally a real emperor almost always mention these titles can not be substantiated.
14. *Harṣacarita*, pp. 112 & 210
15. *IA*. XIII, pp. 77 ff.
16. *EI*. IV, pp. 210 ff, VII, pp. 157 ff.
17. *IA*. XI, p. 67; VI, p. 86; IX, p. 124
18. *JBORS*. IX, pp. 319 ff; See also *The Classical Age*, pp. 110 ff.
19. *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 60
20. *JBRS*. XXX, Pt. II, p. 166:—Scholars identified Pārasikas occurring in *Raghuvamśa* (IV, 60), *Gauḍavaho* (VV, 434-439) with Persians (see D.C. Sircar, *Successor of Śātavāhanas*, pp. 321 ff, Bühler, *IA*. XLII, p. 249), but beyond the superficial similarity in sound there is nothing to command this view (Cf. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 197 ff). The Pārasikas are placed among the countries of the South and Kālidāsa and Vākpati follow some sort of geographical order, we must look for them in South (See B. K. Singh, *Māgadhi*, *Magadha University Journal*, 1972. p. 111 & fn. 27).
21. *JBRS*. XXX, Pt. II (1944), pp. 184-90
22. *Ibid.*, p. 189
23. *Ibid.*, p. 190
24. Persia was conquered during the caliphate of Umar (634-44 A.D.). The first colony of Persian imigrants from Khurasan is said to have been at sanjan (Thana District) in 735 A.D., V. A. Smith, *EHI*. p. 444, fn. 4; See also I.J.S., Taraporewala, "The exact date of the Arrival of the Pārsis in India", *Kane Festschrift*, pp. 506-14.).

THE DATE OF ĀRAṆG COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHĪMASENA II—A REVIEW

By

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The date of the Āraṅg copper plate inscription of Bhīmasena II¹, which “is the only dated inscription of the locality and the period,”² is read differently. Hira Lal, its editor, deciphers ‘*Guptānām Saṁvatsara Śate 200, 80, 2*’³ and translates it as “in the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80, 2”⁴.

Ghosh accepts it.⁵ On this Mirashi comments: “It is plain that the writer intended to give the year of the date both in words and in figures, but omitted inadvertently some expression like *dvy -aśīty-uttare* after *saṁvatsara -śate*. Is there a similar mistake in the expression *saṁvatsara -śata-dvaye*”?⁶ But he does “not think so, because firstly, the characters of the inscription are much earlier than A.D. 601-2 to which the record will have to be assigned if the intended reading is *saṁvatsara-śata-dvaye-dvy-aśīty-yuttare*; secondly, the symbols which follow give the date 182, not 282 ... The first symbol stands for 100, since the horizontal bar which is added on the right of its vertical to change it into one for 200 is wanting here. The date of the Āraṅg plates is thus G. E. 182 (not 282) which corresponds to A.D. 501-2”⁷.

Sircar rejects Mirashi’s suggestions by stating that, “There is no doubt about the correctness of Hiralal’s reading of the symbol in question as 200, and as regards the expression, it does not prove anything in view of such epigraphic passages as *saṁvatsara-śate* 372 in the Buchkala inscription of Nāgabhaṭa II, lines 1-2.”⁸ Answering it Mirashi writes that his “reading of the date of the Āraṅg plate was based not only on the introductory expression *saṁvatsara-śate* ... but also on the form of the numerical symbol and above all on the palaeographical evidence detailed in my article. This evidence has not yet been controverted.”⁹ But we can say that in his first article Mirashi does not produce a critical account of the palaeographical characteristics of the Āraṅg copper

1 *EI*, IX, pp. 242 ff.

2 *EI*, XXV, p. 268.

3 *EI*, IX, p. 345.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *EI*, XXV, p. 268.

6 *EI*, XXVI, p. 228.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *IHQ*, XXII, p. 62.

9 *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 236.

plate, though the test letters of this record are drawn in the palaeographical chart related with that article. There Mirashi discusses the beginning of the developed forms of the test letters that also occur in the inscriptions of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna.¹ Here, however, if a critical and comparative study is made, admittedly it may be inferred, from his statement that "the developed forms of the test letters that we notice in the inscriptions of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta"² occur in the "inscriptions which range in dates from A.D. 588 to 631"³ and the appended palaeographical chart showing the non-developed forms of the test letters of the Āraṅg plate, that this epigraph belongs to a period when these developed forms of the letters did not evolve.

In his second article, Mirashi reaffirms his proposed reading of the date by comparing the forms of the test letters of the Āraṅg copper plate with those of the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna⁴, who is placed in the 'first quarter of the seventh century A.D.' by Sircar⁵. Mirashi enumerates the features of the five test letters of the Āraṅg copper plate as follows :

(i) " *Ka* in the Āraṅg plate shows a bent horizontal bar, but the letter has not yet formed a loop on the left ;

(ii) *Da* does not yet show a tail ;

(iii) *Bha* and *Sa* have no wedge on the left ;

(iv) The left limb of the palatal *Śa* does not exhibit a loop and has not yet become separated from the vertical on the right ;

(v) *Ha* has not yet become slanting and shows no tail "⁶.

Thereafter he concludes : "This palaeographic evidence should have no doubt that *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena II must have flourished at least a century earlier than Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna. If the latter ruled in the first-quarter of the seventh century A.D., Bhīmasena II must be referred to about A.D. 500. The date of the Āraṅg plates, must therefore be read as G. 182 (A.D. 501-2) "⁷. Sircar, in one⁸ of his subsequent writings, too, simply repeats his earlier remark

1 *EI*, XXVI, pp. 227 ff.

2 *EI*, XXVI, pp. 227-8.

3 *Ibid*, p. 228.

4 *BDCRI*, VIII, p. 51; *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 236.

5 *IHQ*, XXII, p. 61.

6 *BDCRI*, VIII, p. 51; *Studies in Indology*, I, 237.

7 *BDCRI*, VIII, p. 52; *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 237.

8 Writing, second time on this problem Sircar refers to the article published by Mirashi in *BDCRI*, VIII, pp. 51 ff.; though Sircar mentions page 5 by mistake (*The Classical Age*, Ed., p. 218 fn. 2). In which Mirashi has showed that the test letters of the Āraṅg plate have decidedly earlier forms than the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta- Bālārjuna. This proves that the present account of Sircar follows to that of Mirashi printed in *BDCRI*, VIII.

that "the first of the three symbols in the date is clearly one for 200 Great stress has in this connection been laid on the passage *Samvatsara-śate* preceding the symbols, and it has been pointed out that the proper expression before the date 282 would be *Samvatsara-śatadvaya*. The argument is, however, unconvincing."¹ Here he quotes one more example of such date as '*Samvatsara-śate* 500 (Ponduru grant of Vajrahasta II)'². But Sircar does not pay his attention to the form of the first numerical sign inscribed therein as³ if this was meant for the symbol of 200, it should have had a horizontal bar on the top of the right vertical.⁴ Here, he also does not mention whether he presumes the existence of the said horizontal bar or he has any instance of this kind. Further, the above symbol can be compared with that occurring for hundred in Majhgawān plates of Hastin⁵ and the Karitalai plates of Jayanātha⁶. Sinha also agrees with Mirashi about the date of the Āraṅg plate. He observes that this plate "should be placed earlier than the Harāhā inscription (554 A.D.) as is clear from the comparison of letters 'ka', 'bha', 'ya', 'śa', and 'ha'.⁷" But less than a decade back the date read by Hira Lal as G.E. 282 is again accepted by Dani⁸ and hence this problem needs a fresh examination.

Here the palaeographic features of the test letters of the Āraṅg copper plate⁹ can be detailed out as follows :

1. *Ka* has a curved bar.
2. *Da* is formed by the double curve.
3. *Bha* is one of the angular variety with its double curved left arm and right arm lengthened, written here in two shapes: (i) right arm starts from the head and (ii) it joins the left limb in the middle of its upper half.
4. *Ya* is tripartite. Its left arm is looped except in one case but two variations in the right arm can be noticed as (i) curved and (ii) slanting.
5. *La* is angular with elongated vertical, firm base and hook equal arms.
6. *Śa*, which is angular, has flat top, foot-mark at left arm and the right arm larger.
7. *Sa*, angular in nature, is formed with equal arms but sometimes the left arm has a small tail.

1 *The Classical Age*, Ed., p. 218, fn. 2.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *EI*, IX, pl. facing p. 344.

4 *CII*, III, pl. facing p. 169. This epigraph was issued in the 6th century A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 165).

5 *Ibid.*, pl. XIV.

6 *Ibid.*, pl. XVI.

7 *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 444.

8 *Indian Palaeography*, p. 163.

9 *EI*, IX, pl. facing, p. 344.

8. *Ha* with broadened hook is used in four shapes : (i) straight left arm and firm base, (ii) curved left arm and firm base, (iii) curved left arm, slanting base—in all these three varieties the hook is not extended down beyond the base, and, (iv) round bottom and hook slightly extended down the base.¹

Dani² treats this epigraph with the charters of Hastin, Jayanātha, and Saṁkṣobha. Hence, to compare the palaeographic features of the test letters of the Āraṅg plate, with the records of these kings, the test characters of some of their record, Khoh copper plates of Hastin (Year 163=482-3 A.D.),³ Karitalai plates of Jayanātha (year 174=493-4 A.D.)⁴ and Khoh copper plates of Saṁkṣobha (year 209=528-9 A.D.),⁵ can be enumerated here. They are as follows :

1. *Ka* of two types, with straight and curved bar can be noticed in all the records.

2. *Da* is inscribed in three types : single curved *da* in the Khoh copper plates of Hastin and Karitalai Plates of Jayanātha, angular *da* in Khoh copper plates of Hastin and Saṁkṣobha and, double curved *da* in all the said records.

3. *Bha* of the angular variety with curved upper half and slanting lower half of the left arm and the right arm lengthened and appended at head is used in all; though in the Khoh copper plates of Hastin its left arm generally turns inwards horizontally and, sometimes in the Khoh copper plates of Saṁkṣobha the right arm starts from the middle of the upper half of the left arm.

4. *Ya* is tripartite. All the records, referred to above, have looped *ya* except that sometimes in the Khoh plates of Hastin and the Karitalai plates of Jayanātha its left arm is not looped but left open; again the said letter of the former has its right half curved and that of the latter has its right half slanting. Here the looped tripartite *ya* can be differentiated into five varieties : (i) right arm curved—Khoh plates of Hastin, (ii) right half angular—Khoh plates of Hastin and Karitalai plates of Jayanātha, (iii) right half slanting—Khoh plates of Saṁkṣobha, (iv) loop extended down than right arm and the latter angular and (v) loop extended down and the right arm slanting—both the last varieties in Khoh copper plates of Hasin.

5. *La* has a broadened hook at left except sometimes in Saṁkṣobha instead of this hook a small horizontal bar is noticed. The hooked *ha* is used

1 I am proposing to give a detailed account of the palaeographical features of the Āraṅg copper plate elsewhere.

2 *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 163-64.

3 *CII*, III, pl. XIII.

4 *Ibid*, pl. XVI.

5 *Ibid*, pl. XV, B.

here in four forms : (i) pointed base=Khoh plates of Hastin and Karitalai plates of Jayanātha, (ii) rounded base—Karitalai plates, (iii) firm base—all plates, and (iv) firm base with equal arms—Khoh plates of Hastin.

6. *Śa* has its right arm lengthened and foot at its left. Here its two types are known : (i) with flat top—Karitalai plates of Jayanātha and (ii) with rounded top—Khoh plates of Hastin and Saṁkṣobha.

7. *Sa* has two arms. Here its five forms are noticed : (i) both arms curved—Khoh plates of Hastin, (ii) both arms angular and slanting—Karitalai plates of Jayanātha and Khoh copper plates of Saṁkṣobha, (iii) left arm angular and slanting and right arm curved—Karitalai plates of Jayanātha, (iv) left arm angular and turned inwards horizontally and right arm curved, and (v) left arm angular and turned inwards horizontally and right arm angular—last both in Khoh plates of Hastin.

8. *Ha* has a hook at right. Of it nine shapes are known here : (i) curved left arm, pointed bottom and broadened hook—Karitalai plates of Jayanātha and Khoh copper plates of Saṁkṣobha; (ii) double curved left arm, pointed bottom and hook extended down than the bottom and (iii) straight left arm and pointed bottom—both in Karitalai plates of Jayanātha; (iv) slanting left arm and rounded bottom, (v) slanting left arm and firm base, (vi) straight left arm and firm base and, (vii) both arms equal with firm base—all the four (iv-vii) in Khoh plates of Hastin, (viii) slanting left arm, rounded bottom and hook extended down and (ix) slanting left arm, pointed bottom and hook extended down—Khoh plates of Saṁkṣobha.

Sircar, who favours to read 282 G.E.=601 A.D. on the Āraṅg copper plate, places Mahāśivagupta in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.¹ and, therefore, the shapes of the test letters of the Sirpur inscription of this king² must be taken into account to determine whether the Āraṅg plate can as well be assigned to the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., as the contemporary of Mahāśivagupta's Sirpur inscription.³ The characters of the test letters of the Sirpur inscription are as follows :—

1. *Ka* has its left arm looped and the right arm extended down.
2. *Da* is formed by the double curves and with either tip turned up or tail.
3. *Bha* constitutes a curve, a slanting line and a hook.
4. *Ya* is bipartite.

1 *IHQ*, XXII, p. 62.

2 *EI*, XL, pp. 184 ff.

3 *Ibid*, pl. facing p. 188.

5. *La* at least of the four shapes can be noticed : (i) with firm base, (ii) pointed bottom, (iii) tailed bottom and (iv) left arm appended above the bottom, but all have the left half of the hook extended than its right half.

6. *Śa* has its both arms equal and the lower half of the left arm looped.

7. *Sa* is inscribed in two ways : (i) two armed and (ii) open mouthed.

8. *Ha* has double curved and a hook extended down than the base.

In this way, we find that the characters of the letters *Ka*, *Da*, *Bha*, *Ya*, *La*, *Śa*, *Sa* and *Ha*, used in the Āraṅg copper plate occur in all the epigraphs discussed above which palaeographically belong to one group and are from different places of the Vindhyan region. All these were inscribed between 482-3 to 528-29 A.D. *Ka* with horizontal bar written in the Āraṅg plate is represented in the Khoh copper plate of Hastin (482-83 A.D.), Karitalai copper plates of Jayanātha (493-4 A.D.) and Khoh copper plates of Saṁkṣobha (528-9 A.D.). Similarly the double curved *da* of the Āraṅg plate is known in all the said inscriptions. *Bha* of the angular variety with right arm appended at the head or the middle of the upper half of its left limb that occurs in the Āraṅg plate is used with both forms in the Khoh plates of Saṁkṣobha and also its former form can be located in the Khoh plates of Hastin and Karitalai plates of Jayanātha. *La* with firm base of the Āraṅg plate occurs in the records referred to above. *Śa* with flat top of the Āraṅg plate is known in the Karitalai plates of Jayanātha and *śa* with round top is noticed in the Khoh plates of Hastin and Saṁkṣobha. Angular double armed *sa* with left arm slanting of the Āraṅg plate is used in Karitalai plates of Jayanātha and Khoh plates of Saṁkṣobha. *Ha* with straight vertical, firm base and hook at right of Āraṅg plate occurs in the Khoh plates of Hastin. We also notice that sometimes this letter in the Āraṅg plate has its hook slightly extended down than the base and this feature is met with in the Karitalai plates of Jayanātha and Khoh plates of Saṁkṣobha.

Thus the palaeographical characters of the Āraṅg plate are similar to these records (Khoh plates of Hastin and Saṁkṣobha and Karitalai plates of Jayanātha) written in the last two decades of the 5th century and the first three decades of the 6th century A.D. Further the Karitalai plates of Jayanātha and Khoh plates of Saṁkṣobha issued in the last decade of the 5th century and towards the end of the third decade of the 6th century A.D., respectively, also contain the letter *ha* with its hook extended downwards but remarkably it is frequently used in the latter and in the Āraṅg plate too the character *ha* of this shape is rarely noticed as in the former.

Again we see that these letters in the Sirpur inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta have the developed forms : looped *ka*; tailed or tip turned up *da*, though double curved; open-mouthed *bha* and not double armed; *la* with hook extend-

ed down, mostly gracefully, at left than its right end; looped *śa*, open-mouthed *sa*; and *ha* with double curved left arm and hook extended down gracefully. All these features of this inscription are conspicuously absent in the Āraṅg copper plate.

TEST LETTERS	ARANG PLATE OF BHIMASENA II	KHOH PLATES OF HASTIN year 163 = 482-3 A.D.	KARITALAI PLATES OF JAYANATHA year 174 = 493-4 A.D.	KHOH PLATES OF SAMKSHOBHA year 209 = 528-9 A.D.	SIRPUR INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀSIVAGUPTA
Ka	𑀓	𑀓 𑀓	𑀓 𑀓	𑀓 𑀓	𑀓
Da	𑀔	𑀔 𑀔 𑀔	𑀔 𑀔	𑀔 𑀔	𑀔 𑀔
Bha	𑀕 𑀕	𑀕 𑀕	𑀕	𑀕 𑀕	𑀕
Ya	𑀖 𑀖	𑀖 𑀖 𑀖 𑀖	𑀖 𑀖	𑀖	𑀖
La	𑀗	𑀗 𑀗 𑀗	𑀗 𑀗 𑀗	𑀗 𑀗	𑀗 𑀗 𑀗 𑀗
Śa	𑀘	𑀘	𑀘	𑀘	𑀘
Sa	𑀙 𑀙	𑀙 𑀙 𑀙	𑀙 𑀙	𑀙	𑀙 𑀙
Ha	𑀚 𑀚 𑀚 𑀚	𑀚 𑀚 𑀚 𑀚	𑀚 𑀚 𑀚	𑀚 𑀚 𑀚	𑀚

Therefore, the form of the numerical symbol and the palaeography of the Āraṅg plate of Bhīmsena II lead us to read its date as 1 80 2 = 182 G.E. (501 A.D.) and not 282 G.E.¹.

¹ I am thankful to Shri J. P. Singh for going through this paper.

TWO GAṄGOLĀTĀL, GWALIOR, INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TOMARA KINGS OF GWALIOR

By

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The two inscriptions of the Tomara kings of Gwalior, one of Virasimha-deva and the other of Uddharanadeva, which I edit below, are from among the large number of records incised on the rocky-bed of the Gaṅgolātāl in the Gwalior fort. I happened to locate these inscriptions sometime in May, 1969, when, soonafter I had moved to Gwalior, I went round the fort for site-seeing and made their ink-impressions.

The Gaṅgolātāl is a tank cut into the rock. The tradition that the stone-quarry once used for taking out stone for constructing the Teli-kā-mandir, which stands in its immediate vicinity, was converted into the tank is contradicted by two inscriptions, one dated *V.S.* 1250 (1193-94 A.D.) and the other *V.S.* 1251 (1194-95 A.D.),¹ both incised on the bed of the tank, for these are the earliest records on the bed of the tank. They lead to the conclusion that if any stone-quarry was ever converted into a tank, this happened some four hundred years after the Teli-kā-mandir was built² and also nearly a century after the quarry had been used for taking out stone for the Sas-bahu temples, which also stand near the tank and were built in *V.S.* 1150.³

The two inscriptions, which form the subject of this study, are of great historical importance, inasmuch as they are the only records, one each, of the time of Virasimhadeva and Uddharanadeva so far known, and they speak of the defeat of the Śakas (i.e. the Moslems), the first by Virasimha and Uddharana together and the second by Uddharana only. The date of the first record is

1 Both these inscriptions belong to the time of king Ajayapāla. Who he was, is not known. His name does not occur in any of the inscriptions of the Pratihāras of Gwalior or Chanderi. On the other hand, the Moslem chroniclers make mention of Rai Solankh Pal or Lohang Deo in A.D. 1196 when the Gwalior fort was infested by Mu'izz al-Dīn. (Tāj al-ma'thir, Elliott and Dowson II, pp. 227-28; Ta'rikh-i-Fakhru d-Dīn Mubārakshāh by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, edited by Denison Ross, p. 23). Khadgarai also makes mention of a king named Lohang Deo in his Gopācala-Ākhyāna and says that the Gwalior fort was infested by the Moslems during his reign and that Ratna Deo was his predecessor. (*ASR.* II, pp. 378-79; the Dafias Ms. and the Ujjain Ms.).

2 The Teli-kā-mandir was built in about the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Cf. my note on the Pratihāra Genealogy from Nāgabhaṭṭa I to Vatsarāja I, *Journal of Indian History* XLVIII, p. 441, fn. 21.

3 *IA.* XV, p. 56.

important for the foundation of the Tomara rule at Gwalior and their seizure of the Gwalior fort from the Moslems.

(1) *Inscription of Virasimhadeva (Plate I)*

The inscription covers a space 20'.5" long and 15" broad. It has twelve lines of writing. It is very much damaged and a good portion of ls. 1 and 6 to 12 is effaced. It is written in the *Nāgarī*-characters. The language is *Samskṛta*, but it is very much corrupt. The orthographical peculiarities to which attention may be drawn are the use of the dental 'sa' for the palatal 'śa' in *sivāya* in 1.1, of the palatal 'ja' for the semi-vowel palatal 'ya' in *jenedam* in 1.7, and of the sibilant lingual 'ṣa' for the guttural 'kha' in *lileṣi* in 1.12. This was evidently because of the growing influence of the *Hindī* language in the region and gradual eclipse of *Samskṛta*. There are several mistakes in the text which is faulty otherwise also, not unoften the meter being irregular.

That portion of the text which contained the object of the record is damaged and it cannot be read with certainty. However, it appears that it recorded that the tank had been desilted and purified during the reign of the Tomara Virasimha by the son (whose name is lost) of *Paṇḍita* Lakṣmīdhara who was perhaps a minister of Virasimha and well versed in the royal work and the six forms of *karma*. (*ṣatkarma*)

The record opens with salutation to Śiva. This is followed by the details of the date, which are partly effaced. As extant, it reads as..... [ve] *dendu Āṣāḍha śukla 5, Guruvāra*. The inscription then speaks of Virasimha who, it is said, illumined the Tomara family like the sun illumining the lotus, conquered the world and was known all over the earth. The next line says that he defeated the Śakas; and even if a portion of the line is damaged, it makes it clear that he defeated them in association with Uddharāṇa. This is followed by the object of the record. The inscription finally closes with a reference to Gaṅgādhara, its composer. He was the son of Sacadeva, who was born of the *Māthurānvaya* of the Kāyasthas.

Virasimha was the Tomara chieftain who founded the Tomara rule at Gwalior. Whatever we have known of him so far is known from traditions recorded in the *Gopācala Ākhyāna* of Khaḍgarai¹ and the *Qulyāt-i-Guwāliari* of

1 Khaḍgarai wrote the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna* in *Hindī* in the reign of the Moghul Emperor Shah Jahan, to recite it to the Tomara chieftain Kṛṣṇasimha, one of the descendents of Virasimha. Cunningham (*ASR*. II, pp. 370 ff) has briefly discussed its contents from the two Mss. that he obtained. Some Mss. of the work, of which only one is complete, are available in the Scindhia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. The complete Ms., however, contains much later additions to the original text by a good number of poets (*nānākavi*), and brings the story down to the conquest of Gwalior by Mahādji Scindhia in V. S. 1840. It also omits a number of lines of the original text. It is dated V. S. 1948. *Mārگاśirṣa śukla 5, Ravivāra*.

Syed Fazl 'Alī Shāh Kādīrī Chishtī.¹ Both these works are also known as the *Guwālī-arnāmā*.² Curiously, Fazl 'Alī calls Virasimha by the name of Paramāladeva and says that he was the son of Harapāladeva and belonged to the Ponwār (Paramāra) clan of the Rajputs. The names and the number of successors of Paramāladeva given by him do not also agree with those given in the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna*, the Moslem Chroniclers or the Tomara inscriptions.

The Tomaras belonged to the Lunar race (*Somavaṃśa*) and descended from the lineage of Pāṇḍu (*Pāṇḍuvaṃśatato bhūtvamśaḥ*) according to the Rohtas (Jhelum disrict, Pakistan) inscription dated V.S. 1688 of the time of the Tomara Vira Mitrasena,³ one of the descendants of Virasimha, and Khaḍgarai. Khaḍgarai gives a long list of the legendary kings who preceded Virasimha. A Tomara Zamindar's Ms. of the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna*, referred to by Cunningham,⁴ traces Virasimha's descent from Anaṅgapāla of Delhi. Two other lists of the Tomara kings which I procured at Gwalior, one of which is claimed to have been obtained from the Historical Department of the former Alwar state, also trace their descent from *Candra* (the Moon) and include Janamejaya and Anaṅgapāla among Virasimha's predecessors. The number of these predecessors of Virasimha is 208 according to the Alwar list and 156 according to the other. That these lists are fictitious need not be emphasised.

Traditions recorded in the different accounts of Gwalior referred to above do not agree on the name of the grandfather of Virasimha. Khaḍgarai and one

A recent copy of a Ms. from Datia is available with Shri Harihar Niwas Dvivedi of Morar, Gwalior. Curiously, it is titled as '*the Guwālīarnāmā*' and not as '*the Gopācala-Ākhyāna*'. The Ms. itself was dated V.S. 1853, *Āsāḍha vadi 13, Bhānudinā*. It appears to have followed the original text of Khaḍgarai. I am thankful to Pt. Dvivedi for lending me his copy of the Datia Ms. and the Director, Scindhia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, for the Ujjain Ms.

1 Fazl'Alī also wrote his '*Qulyāt-i-Guwālīari* in the reign of Shāh Jahān. He claims to have based it on the Ta'rikh-i-nāmā of Gwalior by one Ghanshyam Brāhmaṇa of Gwalior itself. A recent copy of Ms. of the work is available with Hazratji of Gwalior. An indifferent translation in English of a certain Ms. by Shrimant Balwant Row Bhayasaheb Scindhia was published under the title '*History of the Fortress of Gwalior*' in 1892. (Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay). The story of Gwalior in this Ms. has been brought down to the capture of the Gwalior fort by General Popham. Therefore, it also contains a good deal of material that was added to it later on.

2 Besides the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna* of Khaḍgarai and the *Qulyāt-i-Guwālīari* of Fazl 'Alī, the other accounts of Gwalior known are: (1) the *Guwālīarnāmā* of Badili Das, (2) the *Guwālīarnāmā* of Hīraman B. Girdhardas, Munshi of Motmid Khan (*British Museum Cat. of Persian Mss.* I, No. Add. 16709, (3) the *Guwālīarnāmā* of Motiram and Khushal, written under the orders of Capt. Wm. Bruce, after Gwalior had been captured by General Popham (*ibid.* Add. No. 16710) and (4) the *Guwālīarnāmā* of Khān Jahān and Shaikh Jalāl Hīṣār. (*ibid.* Add. 16359, IV) Badili Das' *Guwālīarnāmā* is a continuation of the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna* of Khaḍgarai. The other three works have not been available to me.

3 JASB. VIII, p. 696.

4 ASR. II, p. 382.

[illegible]

Plate I

Inscription of Virasimha

ममपुत्रे दिवाजी गणेशाय नमः ॥ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥
असंख्यं चरणं वाचं च तेषां स्वर्गं गन्तव्यं ॥
सिद्धिं देवते तदा मम पुत्रे निमलं विनयसत्तां मुक्तां रत्ना
आदि रमि प्रसन्नं च प्रललितं विप्रे मे वि स म म म
म यत्र मन्त्रं सितं देव रत्नं मम हृदयं मम मम मम
स त्वा दारं मम लीजन्तु मम हृदये मम मम मम
आद्या मा सु रा नु यत्ना दस्यं गणेशाय नमः ॥
विजेण वमम ए पुं नो गाय धर वे न ह म म म व दान

Plate II
Inscription of Uddharana

of the lists of the Tomara kings obtained by me at Gwalior, call him Ghāṭama-deva. The Tomara Zamindar's Ms. of the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna* calls him Kunwarpāla¹ and Alwar list, referred to above, Sultansimpha, who is the father of Kunwarpāla according to the Tomara Zamindar's Ms. The Alwar list further confounds Brahmadeva, the father of Virasimpha according to the other sources, with Virasimpha himself. But, the *Virasimhāvaloka*,² a work on medicine, records that Devabrahma was the father of Virasimpha and Kamalasimpha his grandfather.³ Since the *Virasimhāvaloka* was composed in the reign of Virasimpha himself,⁴ more than 250 years before Khaḍgarai wrote his own *Gopācala-Ākhyāna*, its testimony on the name of the grandfather of Virasimpha is of a higher validity than that of any other source.⁵ Kamalasimpha was then the name of the grandfather of Virasimpha.

We are mainly concerned with the defeat of the Śakas by Virasimpha and Uddharāṇa spoken of in the two inscriptions, their seizure of the fort of Gwalior from the Moslems and the date when they seized it.

'Śaka' was a general term used for a Moslem. This finds confirmation from the Boher (Rohtak district) Palam Baoli inscription dated V.S. 1337 of the reign of the Hammīra Gayāsadīna (Ghiyās-ud-dīn) Balban, which speaks of the Moslem kings Sahavadīna (Shihāb-ud-dīn-Ghorī), Khuduvadīna (Qutb-ud-dīn Aybak), Asamasadīna (Shams-ud-dīn-Ilyal-timish) and others as Śakas.⁶ The *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* of Nāyacandrasūri also speaks of Shihāb-ud-dīn-Ghorī as a Śaka. Even if the context in which the reference to the defeat of the Śakas had occurred in the two inscriptions is lost, because it occurs in the verse that follows the one which eulogises Virasimpha in this record and Uddharāṇa in the other edited below, it may be concluded that each of them defeated the Śakas.

1 *Ibid.*

2 *Virasimhāvaloka*, published by Shrikrishnadas Gangavishnu at the Lakshmivenkateshvar Press, Kalyan, Bombay, V.S. 1981.

3 तत्राभवत्कमलसिंह इति प्रसिद्धः सर्वांगमाचरणसेवितदेवसिद्धः ।

तस्मादभूत्तुगतिभूति देववर्मा विद्याविनोदमतिरावृतपुण्यकर्मा ॥

श्रीदेववर्मात्मज एष घोरः स्वशस्त्रसंतापितशत्रुवीरः ।

श्रीवीरसिंह क्षितिपालसिंहः शास्त्रत्रयाद्भ्यसिमं व्यधत् ॥

4 The printed edition of the *Virasimhāvaloka* attributes its authorship to Virasimpha himself. But, the colophon of a Ms. in my possession would seem to suggest that it was composed by one Sāraṅgadeva at the instance of Virasimpha. My Ms. is dated V.S. 1663, *Mārgaśīrṣa* vadi 7, Budhavāra = Wednesday, November 26, 1606 A.D.; it is therefore of greater value for an evidence than the printed text.

5 In the Ms. of the *Virasimhāvaloka* in my possession Virasimpha's father is named Devaśarmā, evidently a copyist's mistake for Devavarmā.

6 *JASB*, XLIII, p. 108; *Bhandarkar's List* No. 598.

But, since the verse that follows the one that refers to the defeat of the Śakas by Virasimha in this inscription and the verse that precedes the one that refers to their defeat by Uddharaṇa in the other, speak of Gopagiri or Gopācala, it would follow that Virasimha and Uddharaṇa defeated them at Gopagiri or Gopācala (Gwalior). The present inscription also records that Virasimha defeated the Śakas in association with Uddharaṇa. This statement finds confirmation from the second inscription also, which says that Uddharaṇa defeated the Śakas and rescued the earth. That Virasimha and Uddharaṇa² had together defeated the Moslems and seized the fort of Gwalior, is also told by Fazl 'Alī. Khaḍgarai and the Moslem chroniclers,³ however, differ; they give credit for the seizure of the fort to Virasimha alone. Since the evidence of the present two records is more reliable, the statement of Fazl 'Alī and the Moslem chroniclers in this respect may be rejected.

Again, whereas Khaḍgarai and Fazl 'Alī write that Virasimha acquired the fort as an *inām* from Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn and that when the Syed governor of the fort had refused to hand it over to him, he seized it through a stratagem, the Moslem chroniclers record that he⁴ seized it treacherously during the confusion caused by the invasion of Timūr Laṅg (1398-99 A.D.).⁵ Except for some minor variations in the details, the circumstances leading to the seizure of the fort by Virasimha, as narrated by Khaḍgarai and Fazl 'Alī, are the same.⁶ Briefly, the story runs as follows :

Virasimha was the Tomara chieftain of Aisah⁷ in the Dhandaroli *Pargana*, and a tributary of the Sulṭān of Delhi evidently. Since he engaged himself in

1 Fazl 'Alī wrongly calls him Paramāladeva.

2 He is called Usaranadeva in Hazratji's Ms. of the *Qulyāt-i-Guwāliari* and Adharan in the one which Balwant Row Bhayasaheb claims to have translated into English.

3 *Tar ikh-i-Mubārakshāhī* (hereinafter abbreviated as *TM.*), cf. Rizvi: *Uttara Taimūr Kālina Bhārata* I, p. 6; *Tabqāt-i-Akbārī* (hereinafter abbreviated as *T.A.*), cf. *ibid.* pp. 57-58; 'Al-Badāonī: *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh* (hereinafter abbreviated as '*Al-Badāonī*'), translated by Ranking I, p. 361; *Farishtā*, cf. translation by Briggs I, p. 289.

4 Yahyā bin Aḥmad calls him Barsingh, Nizām-ud-din and Farishtā Narsingh and 'Al-Badāonī Harsingh.

5 Cf. fn. 3 above.

6 Besides the wrong names that Fazl 'Alī gives to Virasimha, his father and his family, the other important variations in his account from the one left by Khaḍgarai are: that Virasimha and his brother Usaran or Adharan (Uddharaṇa of the inscriptions) had acted as the watchmen of the Sulṭān and later captured the fort and that Virasimha mixed some narcotics in the food that he served to the Moslem governor and his followers when they came to his camp for the dinner.

7 A village about a mile south of the river Chambal in the Ambah tahsil of the Morena district, M.P. According the Ms. of Fazl 'Alī's the *Guwāliarnāmā* that Balawant Row Bhayasaheb claims to have translated in his *History of the Fortress of Gwalior*, the village from which Virasimha came is called Isamamola. This is a mistake.

predatory activities in the region, he was summoned to Delhi by the Sultān and was assigned the duty of a watchman in the palace. He performed the duty with great earnestness and did not leave his post on a night of *Bhādrapada* when there was a heavy downpour of rain and the other watchmen had deserted their posts. This steadfast devotion to duty won the Sultān's admiration for him, and he gave him the fort of Gwalior as *inām*. When Virasimha came to Gwalior and asked the Syed governor of the fort to hand it over to him, he refused to do so; he, however, allowed Virasimha to encamp on the outskirts of the fort. While encamping outside the fort, Virasimha was only waiting for a suitable opportunity to capture it. Gradually, he developed friendship with the Syed governor and one day invited him with his retinue to a dinner in his own camp. After the guests had partaken of the dinner and were resting in the tents set up for their reception, the Tomara warriors, who were in hiding behind the camp, pounced upon them, felled the tents and overpowered them.¹ In the meantime the gates of the fort were closed by a *domini*, and she is said to have managed to hold it for seven days.² When it were known that only a *domini* and a few others who were holding the fort, Virasimha had no difficulty in capturing it.

There is no reason to doubt the truth of the story, except that part of it which relates to the *domini* holding the fort for three or seven days, whatever it is. The Moslem chroniclers also, even if they do not give details of the manner Virasimha seized the fort, say that he seized it treacherously.³ But, when they say that he seized it during the confusion caused by the invasion of Timūr Laṅg,⁴ they are not correct; as pointed out below they even contradict it themselves also. It is also not evidenced by the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna*, the *Qulyāt-i-Guwāliarī* and the present inscriptions.

The first time we hear of Virasimha from the Moslem chroniclers is in the year 1390-91 A.D., when according to the *Tar'ikh-i-Mubārakshāhī* Muḥammad Shāh had gone to Itawa and waited upon by Rai Barsingh (Virasimha) and the Sultān gave him a *khillat* and sent him back.⁵ This would suggest that Virasimha was a tributary to the Sultān of Delhi in the year 1390-91 A.D. Where his fief lay is, however, not told by the Moslem historians. The fact that Virasimha was a tributary to the Sultān of Delhi finds confirmation from the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna* and the *Qulyāt-i-Guwāliarī*, in an indirect manner though. These

1 ASR. II, p. 384; also the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna* and the *Qulyāt-i-Guwāliarī*.

2 Three days according to Fazl 'Alī (Balwantrao Bhayasaheb has 'musician' in place of 'domini' in his translation of Fazl 'Alī's *Guwāliarnāmā*).

3 TM. cf. Rizvi: *UTKB*. I, p. 6; *TA*. cf. *ibid.*, p. 58; '*Al-Badāonī*, Ranking I, p. 361.

4 Curiously, this statement of the Moslem chroniclers has been adopted by all modern historians.

5 TM. cf. Rizvi: *Tughluq Kālina Bhārata* (hereinafter abbreviated as *TKB*.) II, p. 213,

sources record that since Virasimha engaged himself in predatory activities about the region where his fief lay, he was summoned to Delhi by the Sultān. Who was the Sultān who summoned him, and when, is, however, not told.

We hear of Virasimha again in A.H. 794=1391-92 A.D., when he is said to have revolted¹ against the Sultān of Delhi along with Sabir, Adharan² and Bir Bhan, and the Sultān sent 'Iṣlām Khān against him and himself proceeded against the rest of the rebels. 'Iṣlām is reported to have defeated Bar Singh, who fled the field, and devastated his fief. Bar Singh then implored 'Iṣlām for mercy and he took him to Delhi. Although the *Tarikh-i-Mubārakshāhī* speaks of another revolt by Sabir and Adharan, besides the one by Jit Singh and Abhayachand, in 1392-93 A.D.,³ the name of Virasimha occurs nowhere among the rebels, obviously because he had remained at Delhi, loyal to the Sultān.

What happened to Virasimha after he had been taken to Delhi, is not told by any of the Moslem chroniclers. But, from the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna* and the *Qulyāt-i-Guwālīarī* it would appear that he had entered the service of the Sultān and was given the duty of a watchman in the palace.

Sultān Muḥammad Shāh died on January 20, 1394 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar Shāh, who ruled for one month and sixteen days⁴ only, having ascended the throne on January 22 and died on March 8, 1394 A.D. Sikandar was followed by Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn Shāh, the youngest son of Muḥammad Shāh.⁵ The long internecine feud between the different contenders for the throne had broken up the dominion of Delhi and many of its outlying provinces had revolted and become independent. Soon after his accession to the throne, in May 1395 A.D. to be precise, Nāṣir-ud-dīn sent Khwājā-i-Jahān in the direction of the east to recover the lost provinces.

In June, he sent Sārang Khān to Dipalpur, against the Khokharas who had revolted, and in June itself he himself proceeded in the direction of Bayana with Sa'adat Khān and others. From Bayana he turned to Gawlior; but before he reached Gwalior 'Alā-ud-dīn Dhārwar, Mubārak Khān and Mallū, the brother of Sārang Khān, all of whom had also accompanied him organised a conspiracy

1 TM. cf. Rizvi: *TKB*. II, p. 214; *TA*. cf. *ibid.*, p. 355. On what evidence Ranking suggested that Harsingh, who is no other than Barsingh (Virasimha), was the *Rājā* of Itawa ('*Al-Badāonī*': *op. cit.* Eng. trans. by Ranking I, p. 346; fn. 4 and p. 359, fn. 4), is not known.

2 That this Adharan is not Uddharana, the brother of Virasimha, is discussed below.

3 TM. cf. Rizvi: *TKB*. II, p. 213; *TA*. cf. *ibid.*, p. 355, where Barsingh becomes Narsingh and Sabir and Adharan, Sardar Ihran; '*Al-Badāonī*': *op. cit.* I, p. 346, where Virasimha becomes Harsingrāi. These and other similar examples show how easily names are corruptible in the Persian script.

4 *Farishtā*, cf. Briggs I, p. 276, is wrong when he says that Sikandar Shāh ruled for 45 days.

5 TM. cf. Rizvi: *TKB*. II, pp. 214-15; *TA*. cf. *ibid.*, pp. 354-55.

against Sa'adat Khān. Sa'adat took 'Alā-ud-dīn and Mubārak prisoners and killed them, but Mallū escaped to Delhi and took shelter under Muqarrab Khān, whom the Sultān had nominated as his successor and left behind at Delhi to look after the administration in his absence. Because of these developments, the Sultān had to abandon the conquest of Gwalior and to return to Delhi to save his throne from the evil designs of Muqarrab and Mallū.¹

The above details show that Gwalior revolted and became independent before June 1394 A.D. and that the Sultān Maḥmūd Nāṣir-ud-dīn Shāh failed to reconquer it.² The identity of the chieftain who revolted and became independent at Gwalior, and against whom the Sultān led the expedition in June 1394 A.D., is not revealed by the Moslem chroniclers. None also tells of the conquest of Gwalior later, during the reign of Nāṣir-ud-dīn-Shāh, either. The events that followed Nāṣir-ud-dīn's return from Gwalior to Delhi are highly complex and involved. He was overwhelmed by conspiracy and treachery from his own men, who raised Fateh Khān, a son of Firoz Shāh, as the rival Sultān with the title of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Nuṣrat Shāh. Neither Maḥmūd, nor Nuṣrat, had time to turn his attention to Gwalior, for they were interlocked in conflict³ between themselves, and Timūr's invasion in the meantime made confusion worse confounded. There is no mention of any attempt on the part of the Sultān of Delhi between June 1394 and 1402 A.D. to recover Gwalior. In 1402 A.D. of course Iqbāl Khān, who had occupied Delhi in December 1400—January 1401 A.D. and driven away the pretender Nuṣrat Shāh to Mewat, where he died soon after, attacked Gwalior, but failed to take it.⁴ His second attack on the fort in the following year also failed⁵, and Gwalior was left to enjoy its peace and independence.

The Tomara chieftain who was in possession of Gwalior in 1402 A.D., when Iqbāl attacked the fort, was Viramadeva.⁶ From the second inscription edited below it would appear that Uddharaṇa was the king of Gwalior in V.S. 1458, *Aṣāḍha vadi 5*, *Guruvāra* = Thursday, June 30, 1401 A.D. When Uddharaṇa came to the throne, is not known. That Virasiṃha was the king of Gwalior before Uddharaṇa is borne out by the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna* and the present inscription. Therefore, it was against Virasiṃha evidently that Sultān Maḥmūd led his expedition in June 1394 A.D. That Virasiṃha had taken

1 *TM.* cf. Rizvi: *TKB.* II, p. 216; *TA.* cf. *ibid.*, p. 357; '*Al-Badā'oni: op. cit.* I, pp. 349-50.

2 Farishtā writes that the Sultān had only reached the neighbourhood of Gwalior, Briggs: *op. cit.* I, p. 277.

3 *TM.* cf. Rizvi: *TKB.* II, p. 217 ff.

4 *TM.* cf. Rizvi: *UTKB.* I, p. 6; *TA.* cf. *ibid.*, pp. 57-58; '*Al-Badā'oni: op. cit.* I, p. 361.

5 *TM.* cf. Rizvi: *UTKB.* I, pp. 6-7.

6 *Ibid.*

possession of the fort before June 1394 A.D., is also borne out by the present inscription, even if its date is partly lost ; it reads as — — — — [ve] *dendu Āṣāḍha śukla 5, Guruvāra. Āṣāḍha śukla 5* falls on a *Guruvāra* in *V.S.* 1438 (June 27, 1381 A.D.), *V.S.* 1443 (June 5, 1386 A.D.), *V.S.* 1451 (June 4, 1394 A.D.), *V.S.* 1458 (June 16, 1401 A.D.) and *V.S.* 1465 (June 28, 1408 A.D.). Of these *V.S.* 1438, 1443, 1458 and 1465 may be ruled out, because *Vīrasimha* was a feudatory chieftain of the *Sultān* of Delhi in 1390-91 A.D. and his son *Uddharāṇa* and grandson *Vīramadeva* were kings, respectively in June 16, 1401 A.D.¹ and 1402 A.D.² *V.S.* 1451 is then the only year left for the date of the record, and its detail would correspond to Thursday June 4, 1394 A.D.

The identity of ' *Alā-ud-dīn*, from whom *Vīrasimha* is said to have obtained the fort of Gwalior as an *inām*, is no longer in doubt. He was no other than *Sultān* ' *Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar Shāh* who had succeeded *Muḥammad Shāh* and preceded *Maḥmūd Nāṣir-ud-dīn-Shāh*, and ruled from January 22 to March 8, 1394 A.D.³ It appears that *Sultān Maḥmūd Nāṣir-ud-dīn Shāh* had not approved of the transfer of the fort to *Vīrasimha* by ' *Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar Shāh*, who died not long after he had transferred it to *Vīrasimha*, and the change of the *Sultān* appears to have encouraged the governor of the fort not to hand it over to him. But, before *Nāṣir-ud-dīn* could take any action on the matter, *Vīrasimha* had seized the fort through the strategem, the details of which are given by *Khaḍgarai* and *Fazl 'Alī*. This forcible seizure of the fort by *Vīrasimha* provoked the *Sultān* to lead the expedition against him in June, 1394 A.D.

The conclusions that emerge from the details discussed above are : that *Vīrasimha* was a petty chieftain under the *Sultān* of Delhi, had waited upon him at *Itawa* in 1390-91 A.D. and obtained a *khillat* from him; that he revolted against *Sultān Muḥammad Shāh* in 1391-92 A.D., was defeated by ' *Iṣlām Khān* and taken to Delhi, where he entered the service of the *Sultān*; that he obtained the fort of Gwalior in *inām* from *Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar Shāh* between January 22 and March 8, 1394 A.D. for his loyal service to him and seized it from the *Syed*, governor of the fort before June 4, 1394 A.D. when the latter refused to hand it over to him; and that *Sultān Maḥmūd Nāṣir-ud-dīn Shāh*, who followed *Sikandar Shāh* on the throne, failed to recover the fort and it remained with *Vīrasimha* and his successors.

TEXT⁴

(All *ślokas* follow the *Anuṣṭubh* meter.)

1 Cf. *Uddharāṇa's* inscription edited below.

2 *TM.* cf. *Rizvi: UTKB.* p. 6; *TA.* cf. *ibid* pp. 57-58.

3 As already pointed out by *Cunningham (ASR. II, p. 383)*, ' *Alā-ud-dīn* of *Khaḍgarai* and *Fazl 'Alī* cannot be identified with ' *Alā-ud-dīn Khalji*.

4 From my own ink-impression.

- LS. I ॥ ×¹ ॥ उं² नमः सिवाय³ ॥ — — U — U —
 2 देंदु⁴ श्रीविक्रमगतब्दयोः⁵ । आषाढशुक्ल-
 3 क्षेपु⁶ पंचमी⁷ गुरुवासरे ॥ तोमरवंशमुद्योत सरो-
 4 जं भास्करो यथा । वीरसिंघभूपाल⁷ गजाधि मही-
 5 U U⁸[॥] × × × × ते सुर्वो गजवाजिनराधिपः ।
 6 × × × × × × ने विद्यते सकला मही । [१⁹] उद्ध-
 7 रशोन × × × संख्ये¹⁰ शकनिपातिते । जेनेदं¹¹ गो-
 8 × × × × × × × × व × ॥ पं श्रीलक्ष्मीधरमु-
 9 × × × × × × × × [।] राजकार्य सदा कुशलो षट्कर्म-
 10 × × × ×¹² [॥] — U U डागं × × ×¹³ मुधृतं¹⁴ श्रेयसे
 पुच¹⁵ । नंदते च कुलं
 11 × ×¹⁶ यावत्कूर्मोधराधर ॥ × × × × कुलोत्पन्नं¹⁷ कायस्थ माधु-
 12 × × ×¹⁸ । स च देवात्मजो × × लिलेषित¹⁹ गंगाधरः ॥

(2) *Inscription of Uddharaṇa Deva (Plate II)*

The inscription extends over a space 17" long and 10" broad and consists of eight lines of writing. It is also damaged and a couple of letters at the end

- 1 An auspicious symbol.
- 2 Read *Om*.
- 3 Read *Śivāya*.
- 4 May be restored as *prithviśarascha-vedendu*.
- 5 Read *Vikramagatābdake*.
- 6 Read *Pakṣe*
- 7 The meter is not complete.
- 8 May be reconstructed as *gajādhīpa-maheśvaraḥ*. I am thankful to Dr. V. P. Johrapurkar, Professor of Samskrta at Mahakoshal Arts Mahavidyalaya, Jabalpur, for the suggestion.
- 9 There should be two *daṇḍas*, and not one.
- 10 May be reconstructed as *sahitaḥ saṅkhye*. I am thankful to Dr. Johrapurkar for the suggestion.
- 11 Read *yenedam*.
- 12 May be reconstructed as *karṇodyataḥ*.
- 13 May be reconstructed as *gāṅgam tadāgam*.
- 14 I am unable to make out the text.
- 15 Read *śuci*.
- 16 May be restored as *nandā yāvatkūrmmo*.
- 17 Read *kulotpanna*.
- 18 May be read as *māthurānvayaḥ*.
- 19 Read *lilike*.

of each line are lost. It is written in the *Nāgarī* characters and its language, like the previous record, is corrupt *Samṣkṛta*. Its orthographical peculiarities are similar to those of the previous inscription. The mistakes in the text are indicated in the foot-notes.

The object of the inscription was also the same as that of the one edited above, i.e. to record that the Gaṅgolātāl was desilted.

The record opens with salutation to Gaṇeśa. This is followed by the details of the date, which even if they are partly damaged, may be reconstructed as *saṃvatsaraṣaṭpañcāśadduttare, Aṣāḍha śukla 5, Maghā Nakṣatra*. The next verse speaks of the Suvarṇparekhā, a river that flows by the side of the fort of Gwalior. The inscription then records that Uddharaṇa, who resided in, and ruled from, Gopagiri (Gwalior fort) killed the Śakas (i.e. the Moslems) in battle and rescued the earth and had the tank cleansed. It closes with the statement that *Paṇḍita* Gayādharaśūri, who belonged to the Māthura clan of the Kāyasthas and was a resident of Gopācala, composed it.

The date of the record corresponds to (Thursday) June 16, 1401 A.D.

The inscription shows that Uddharaṇa was ruling at Gwalior on June 16, 1401 A.D. and that he had followed Virasiṃha on the throne. It disproves the statement of the Moslem chroniclers¹ that Virasiṃha was followed by Virama-deva. The statement of the inscription finds confirmation from the Datia Ms. of the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna*, the *Qulyāt-i-Guwāliarī*, the Rohtas inscription of Vira Mitrasena² and the Narwar inscription,³ all of which record that Virasiṃha was succeeded by Uddharaṇa. The Ujjain Ms. of the *Gopācala-Ākhyāna*, no doubt, omits his name from the genealogical list of the Tomaras and seems to say that Virasiṃha was followed by Virama-deva. But, it appears that the line that spoke of Uddharaṇa and which had occurred between the one that speaks of Virasiṃha and the other that of Virama-deva, has been, inadvertently perhaps, dropped by the copyist.

According to Fazl 'Alī Uddharaṇa ruled for five years. From the present inscription and the Moslem chroniclers it would appear that he died between June 16, 1401 A.D., the date of the inscription, and November-December, 1402 A.D., when according to the Moslem chroniclers⁴ Iqbāl Khān infested the fort

1 *TM*. cf. Rizvi: *UTKB*. I, pp. 6-7; *TA*. cf. *ibid.*, pp. 57-58; 'Al-Badā'oni: *op. cit.* I, p. 361.

2 *JASB*. XXXI, p. 404.

3 The eye-copy of the inscription published in *JASB*. XXXI, p. 441, pl. IV, is so corrupt and illegible that practically nothing can be made out of it. I am, however, quoting from an ink-impression from which the relevant portion of the text may be read as *Virasiṃgh. bhūt tasya Uddharaṇadevo*

4 *TM*. cf. Rizvi: *UTKB*. I, p. 6; *TA*. cf. *ibid.* pp. 57-58.

of Gwalior and Viramadeva was its king.¹ Even if it is supposed that he died in the early part of 1402 A.D., if he ruled for five years, the date of his accession would fall in the early part of 1397 A.D. This would leave out only two and a half years for the rule of Virasimha, because he seized Gwalior between January 22 and June 4, 1394 A.D. If Uddharana had ruled that long and Virasimha that short, the Moslem chroniclers would not have ignored him. Under the circumstances it appears that Uddharana ruled for a short period.

The relationship that Uddharana bore to Virasimha is also disputed. According to the Datia Ms. of the *Gopācala-Akhyāna*, the *Yaśodhara-carita* of Padmanābha Kāyastha,² the Rohtas inscription of Vira Mitrasena and the Narwar inscription, he was the son of Virasimha, and Viramadeva was his son. But Fazl 'Alī says that he was the brother of Virasimha³ and the Moslem chroniclers that Viramadeva was the son Virasimha; the latter do not make mention of Uddharana at all. The Ujjain Ms. of the *Gopācala-Akhyāna* also omits his name. The statements of Fazl 'Alī and the Moslem chroniclers may be rejected in view of the better testimony of the sources cited above, particularly that of the *Yaśodhara-carita*, which was composed in the reign of Viramadeva himself.⁴

1 *Jain-Grantha-Praśasti-Saigraha* by Jugal Kishor, Vira Seva Mandir, Daryaganj, Delhi, p. 5.

2 *JASB.* XXXI, p. 404.

3 I.e. Paramāladeva, by which name he calls Virasimha.

4 I need hardly discuss K. S. Lal's suggestion that Rawat Adharan of the Moslem chroniclers was the brother of Virasimha (*Twilight of the Sultanate*, p. 49, fn. 31). Lal appears to have picked up the idea from Hodivala (*Studies in Indo-Moslem History*, p. 304, IV. 26, 1.3); otherwise he quotes no source, nor gives any arguments in support of his suggestion. Rawat Adharan of the Moslem chroniclers cannot be identified with Uddharana, the son of Virasimha, for the simple reason that he is always associated in his revolts against the Sultāns of Delhi with Sabir (Sumersimha, *Ta'rikh-i-Firozshāhi*, cf. Rizvi. *TKB.* II, p. 117; *TM.* cf. *ibid.* pp. 117, 203, 213, 235 and 255, where Sardar Haran is a corruption of Sabir and Adharan) and not with Virasimha. He is first mentioned during the reign of Firoz Shāh Tughluq (*Ta'rikh-i-Firozshāhi*, c.f. *ibid.*, p. 217), who is said to have brought him along with Sabir and their families to Delhi and lodged them there, after they had revolted and been defeated. Virasimha is not mentioned along with him on this occasion. When Virasimha submitted to 'Islām Khān in 1391-92 A.D. and was taken to Delhi, this Adharan did not follow him (*TM.* cf. *ibid.*, p. 213); he was also not associated with Virasimha in the revolt either, which is evident from the fact that while the Sultān had sent 'Islām Khān to deal with the revolt of Virasimha, he himself had proceeded against Sabir and Adharan. Even after the revolt had been suppressed, Adharan appears to have remained at large and raised another revolt along with Sabir in 1392-93 A.D. He was killed along with the other rebels, by Muqarrab-ul-mulk, whom the Sultān had sent to deal with their revolt. It is said that by making certain false promises of friendship Muqarrab enticed them into a surrender, took them to Kanauj and killed them. (*Ibid.*, pp. 213-14). The above details show that Adharan of the Moslem historians was different from Uddharana, the son of the Tomara Virasimha.

The claim that Uddharāṇa killed the Śakas, i.e. the Moslems, and rescued the earth is interesting. Evidently, it has reference to his seizure of the fort of Gwalior from the Moslems along with his father Virasimha, of which the inscription edited above records of all the sources, the *Qulyāt-i-Guwāliarī* of Fazl 'Alī is the only one that says that Uddharāṇa was associated with Virasimha in defeating the Moslems and capturing the fort.

TEXT¹

(*Śloka*s 1, 2, 4 and 5 in the *Anuṣṭubh* meter and *śloka* 3 in *Upendravajrā* meter.)

- Ls. I ॥ ×² ॥ सिद्धिः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीविक्रमा-
 कृतपुत्तेश्चतुर्द्ध — — —
 2 किते³ । संवत्सरेष्टपंचाशद्दुत्तरे तोमरेश्वरः ॥ आषाढ-
 सितपंच — ~ —
 3 मे⁴ पितृदैवते⁵ [।] तद्वागम् करोद्वेतं⁶ निर्मलं चित्तव-
 त्सता । [।]⁷ सुवर्जरेषा⁸ — — —
 4 षाभिरामे⁹ प्रत्यर्थिभूषालभियां विरामे । विराजेत गोप-
 — — —
 5 रीयान्¹⁰ महीमहेंद्रोद्धरशो महीयान् ॥ रणो शक-
 गणं ह — ~ —
 6 रास्युद्धरशो¹¹ महीं¹² [।] जलासयेपि¹³ नैर्ममत्यं
 किं — — — — —
 7 शये । [।]¹⁴ माथुरान्वयकायस्थगोपाचलनिवा-

1 From my own ink-impression.

2 An auspicious symbol.

3 May be reconstructed as *chaturddaśa-satānkite*.

4 May be reconstructed as *pañchamyām maghābhe*.

5 Read *pitrīdaivate*; a *daṇḍa* be also added.

6 Read *taḍāgamakarodenam*.

7 There should be two *daṇḍas* in place of one.

8 Read *suvarṇṇarekhā*.

9 Read *parikhābhirāme*.

10 May be reconstructed as *gopagiran-garīyān*.

11 May be reconstructed as *hatvā arātyuddharāṇe*.

12 Add a *daṇḍa* after *mahim*.

13 Read *jalāśayepi*.

14 It is not possible to suggest any reconstruction of the word. *Jalāśayepi* should have been followed by two *daṇḍas*.

— — [1]¹

8 लिखे² वर्मण⁴ पंक्ती⁵ गयाधरवेन⁶
 सूरिणा 7[11] संवत् १८ — — 8

1 May be reconstructed as *nivāsinaḥ*. Add a *daṇḍa* also.

2 Read *lilikhe*.

3 May be read as *varmmaṇā*.

4 It seems to be an abbreviation of *paṇḍita*.

5 It appears to have been a substitute for *śrī*. I have known of several persons addressed a *Paṅkti* some forty years ago. Whether this mode of address is in vogue even now, I do not know.

6 Read *Gayādhareṇa*.

7 Add two *daṇḍas* after *sūriṇā*.

8 May be reconstructed as 1458.

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By

P. H. JOSHI, Baroda

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4

Vol. LIV, Parts 1-4, 1973

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Vol. XXXV, 3

Griswold, A. B. : Notes on the Art of Siam, No. 7—An Eighteenth Cent. Monastery, Its Colossal Statue, & Its Benefactors

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Tome XXVII, 1973

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Vol. IX, 1973

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Vol. XXXIII, Nos. 1-4, 1973

Devasthali, G. V. : Śipriṇi and Śipriṇivat

Hardikar, A. R. : Gaṅgāyām Ghoṣaḥ

Jha, V. N. : Śākalya and Pāṇini

Joshi, J. R. : Vāta-Vāyu

Mahendale, M. A. : On the Vārttika-2 on Pāṇi 6.1.83

Patyal, H. C. : Some Remarkable Verbal Forms of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa

Varma, M. K. : On the Word Bharata

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Indian Museum Bulletin, Indian Museum, Calcutta-13

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REVIEWS

Gujarāt-no Rājakīya ane Sānskṛtika Itihāsa : (Political and Cultural History of Gujarat) : Published by B. J. Institute of Learning and Research Ahmedabad : Vol. II * :—*Maurya-kāla-thī Gupta-kāla* (Maurya Age to Gupta Age) ; Edited by RASIKLAL CHHOTALAL PARIKH AND HARIPRASAD GANGA-SHANKER SHASTRI : First Edition, 2028/1972; pp. 36+646 with 32 illustrations; Price Rs. 9.75.

It was perhaps in Bengal that the trend was first set in the Thirties of a cumulative effort of the scholars belonging to or interested in a particular linguistic region, to write its detailed history. The idea of this series was obviously taken from the much earlier work of Elliot and Dowson, "History of India by its own Historians" and the series which were by then well-known in Europe. In India, the Cambridge History of India was the first sustained effort in this direction edited by DODWELL and contributed exclusively by British historians.

In Gujarat, the first of such efforts was probably the "Chronology of Gujarat", edited by M. R. MAJMUDAR and published by the Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda. Only the first volume of this ambitious project saw the light of the day—and in any case, chronology could scarcely be called history. The present series is the next and more comprehensive one, a task undertaken by the Sheth Bholabhai Jeshingbhai Institute of Research and Learning, Ahmedabad, with the support of the Government of Gujarat.

This task was commenced in 1967 with a distinguished Editorial Board consisting of Muniśrī Jinavijayaji, Acharyashri (late) Dolararai Mankad, Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Dr. B. J. Sandesara, Shri Anantaray M. Rawal, Acharyashri Yashwant P. Shukla and Dr. Chhotubhai R. Naik. This Board planned a comprehensive history of Gujarat divided in nine volumes : four volumes covering Ancient India to the 13th century, the next three dealing with medieval history to the end of the 18th century and the last two completing the history of the 19th and 20th centuries, up to 1960, when the newly constituted state of Gujarat came into being.

The plan is obviously comprehensive but, it would seem to be weighted heavily in favour of the earlier period. In terms of the available data and possible relevance, if the history upto 1300 is to be covered in four volumes. the

* For a review of Vol. I vide Journal of the Oriental Institute, vol. XXIII, no. 3, pp. 241-43.

history of the Sultanate age and the Mughals in Gujarat, requires at least another four; the 18th century with its major reorganisation and new patterns would possibly demand another two. Likewise, the history of the Renaissance in Gujarat and the economic and entrepreneur activity which became evident in Ahmedabad and elsewhere within Gujarat, can scarcely be contained in a volume. And this is equally true of the age of Gandhi. It would seem that another look is called for in the planning of the volumes subsequent to the fourth one.

Further, it would also appear that the Editorial Board is mainly constituted of experts in Ancient India with little if any expertise about the subsequent ages. This lacunae has probably led to the bias in planning the over-all series and would need to be corrected before subsequent volumes are actually in production or even at the planning stage.

The present volume covering a history of Gujarat from circa 322 B.C. to 470 A.D. is the first to appear in this series. It is divided in 4 parts and 17 chapters. The first part deals with Historiography and sources; the second with political history containing six chapters; the third with social and economic conditions having four chapters; and the last with archaeology and architecture, containing three chapters. There are also a number of valuable appendixes, followed by illustrative plates.

The chapters are undoubtedly a tribute to the knowledge of their authors and the meticulous research and labour which has gone into them. Of particular value and interest are the chapters on the Western Kṣatrapas, social and economic conditions, literature, language and script, archaeology, architecture and sculpture. They bring into focus an aspect of Gujarat history and culture, which while discussed in learned journals, had not been so easily available to students.

It seems however that the discussion on economic life especially on agrarian conditions and internal trade is less detailed than the importance of the topic warrants. Possibly, it is due to the paucity of information, which inhibits any comprehensive treatment of the subject. It is in the treatment of these significant but little noticed aspects of historical study that the historian of the region finds himself at a disadvantage; in this particular case, numismatic data have their limitations; literature, relevant to the region, is hard to come by.

The present series will certainly be a valuable addition to historical literature as such and it is precisely this value which also demands that it should be available to a wide circle of scholars. There is thus a case for the translation of these volumes in Hindi and in English as well. Major works in Gujarati—for instance those published by Navjivan Press are so translated; there is no reason why this valuable work should not be so treated; to become available to an India-wide and world-wide circle of scholars.

Finally, a word about price. Obviously, subsidisation has made it possible for this valuable, learned and well produced work to be sold at the ridiculously low price of Rs. 9.75. Any commercial publisher would have priced it at four times this price and at least twice this price would have been less than reasonable. It may be suggested to the Institute that the desire to make this work available to poor scholars is certainly commendable but so uneconomic a price as this may serve as a disincentive to quality production in future. Certainly, an edition in English for the international market would be cheap at five times the price.

S. C. MISRA

Masterpieces of the Female Form in Indian Art: with an Introduction by Rustam I. Mehta, Published by D. B. TARAPOREVALA Sons & Co. Private Ltd., Bombay, 1972, pp. 56 + 100 plates; Price Rs. 47/-.

As demanded by the theme of the book, Rustam Mehta, the editor, has illustrated it with several excellent photographs, well arranged and beautifully printed. A lucidly written Introduction of 52 pages makes delightful reading both for the layman as well as an earnest student of Indian art. As the author has rightly stated, "in the representation of a beautiful woman, saturated with all the graces and allure of her sex, the Indian artist has always excelled.". But when Mr. Mehta applies to all human figures the remarks of Sheldon Cheney and says that "Sheldon Cheney feels that the sculptural value of the human figures in Indian art 'lies in the direction of the sensuous and melodic loveliness'", one is unable to believe that the treatment of most of the male figures too is on the side of the sensuous, though one would agree that "seldom has sculpture in stone so capitalised a certain soft loveliness of the human figure".

Though written in a beautiful appealing style, the Introduction is marred by the repeated emphasis on the lush of the female flesh, the sensuous, sexual appeal of the Dryads at Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, the inviting forms of the *Surasundaris*, *Apsaras*, *Nāyikās* and so on.

Mr. Mehta's comparison with the Greek forms is interesting and reflects his keen interest and study of Indian as well as world art. But sometimes, in trying to emphasise his main theme he seems to have been carried away by the theme. For example, in the end, on p. 52, he speaks of the Love inspiring Indian art. But when he says that "sensual love has been the inspiration of the great poetic and dramatic outbursts of Indian literature, as it has been of the great lithic imagery of the sculptures of the past", it is difficult to accept

his statement without reservations. Neither the famous Sarnath Buddha, nor the Trimurti at Elephanta, nor a number of sculptures in stone and metal from the south as well as the north were inspired by sensual love. The main inspiration was the ideal of spiritual bliss, of pure love, of love of the Ultimate Reality, the Eternal search for Truth which is Beauty.

It would have been much better if some fine terracottas and bronzes showing female forms had also been illustrated since the title of the book is not restricted to stone sculptures.

However, both the author and the publishers deserve congratulations for presenting this beautiful book on an important aspect of Indian art.

U. P. SHAH

India as Seen in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira, by AJAYA MITRA SHASTRI, M.A. PH.D., Published by Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, 1969, pp. xxiv + 556, Plates XXI.; Price Rs. 50.00.

Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* is a veritable mine of information for the cultural history of the Gupta period, especially of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., since, as Dr. Shastri has again demonstrated that Varāhamihira's *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was written in A.D. 505.

The encyclopaedic character of *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* was for long recognised by Indologists, but no systematic attempt was made before to scan it as a source of cultural history of the Gupta period. Dr. Shastri, though he specially discusses the data in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* has critically studied and noted all comparative material from the other known works of Varāhamihira, particularly the *Yoga-yātrā*, *Bṛhadyātrā*, *Vivāhapaṭala* and the *Samāsasaṃhitā* stanzas cited by Utpala. Wherever necessary he has consulted contemporary literature. Dr. Shastri has demonstrated in this work his deep learning, sober and scientific method of reasoning and research and a complete grasp of the subject-matter discussed. Originally the work formed his thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the Nagpur University. Dr. Shastri has made it upto-date with references and has added two new appendices before sending the work to the Press.

Chapter I deals with Varāhamihira, his age, life and works, chapter II gives the Geographical data. In chapter III on Religion, the author has collected all data on Religious sects, beliefs, omens, ceremonial practices, Image-worship etc. Chapter IV deals with Social life, giving an account of social structure, position of women etc. in the age of Varāhamihira, the data on Food and Drinks and regarding Health, Disease and Medicine, the Dress and Ornaments of the people of the age, Perfumery and Toilet, Furniture and miscellaneous materials, and Family system and Social habits.

Chapter V deals with Economic life including data of Agriculture, Arboriculture, Irrigation, Flora and Fauna, Arts and Crafts, Trade, Jewel Industry, Weight and Measurements, Coinage.

Chapter VI deals summarily with the Astrological material, especially Astrology in Every-life.

Chapter VII is specially devoted to the analysis of data on Fine Arts including Residential (secular) architecture, Temple architecture, Sculpture, Music and Painting.

Chapter VIII deals with Literature and notes the authorities referred to by the great scholiast Varāhamihira.

Appendix I deals with Polity and Government, Appendix II is on Jupiter's Cycles of twelve and sixty years, Appendix III gives the textual evidence bearing on rainfall in ancient India while Appendix IV is on Dakārgala or the art of exploring underground water-veins

There is a select bibliography and a general index also is given at the end.

A critical study of this fascinating book will suggest to a discerning scholar the great and urgent need of having critical editions of the works of Varāhamihira. Since Varāhamihira cites several earlier authorities and since even works on astrology and astronomy refer to calculation of dates and eras, besides being great mines of other cultural data, critically edited texts of such ancient works after careful selection and collation of manuscripts of different versions (or scripts) from various parts of India would immensely help us in a final assessment of certain data which is of great value for students of Indian history and culture. Even the commentary of Utpala on *Bṛhadjātaka* etc., which contains many valuable citations from earlier writers (even earlier than Varāhamihira) is very incorrectly printed. How in later manuscripts, scribal errors were multiplied by later attempts to correct earlier mistakes can be understood by referring to Dr. David Pingree's remarks in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XXXI, pp. 18ff., and Dr. Ajaya Mitra Shastri's remarks in *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 45 foot-note 2. It is needless to go into the details of the discussions of the above two authors but a study of their two papers will convince scholars about the urgent need for critical editions of the works of both Varāhamihira and Utpala.

Dr. Shastri has referred to the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* on pp. 5-6. He is right in saying that this work " is evidently a very late forgery ". There is no doubt that it is not the work of the great poet Kālidāsa.

Sanskrit Dramas of the Twentieth Century, Volume I, by Dr. USHA SATYAVRAT; Published by the authoress at 'Surabhi', 3/54, Roop Nagar, Delhi-7; sole distributors Meharchand Lachhmandas, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1971; pp. 18 + 444; Price Rs. 65/-.

Creativity or originality is not the monopoly of any particular age. Modern Sanskrit literature has enough in it to interest any objective connoisseur. In its volume, content and presentation it can easily match some of the best pieces of world literature. It is not at all justifiable, therefore, to look upon the modern Sanskrit literature as inconsequential.

The Sanskrit dramatic literature of modern times is indeed a substantial literature exhibiting, of course, a modern outlook. The work under review presents a study of some of the Sanskrit dramas composed in the twentieth century. Though a Doctorate Dissertation, it is just the first among a series of such volumes on the subject to be prepared and published in due course. In all fifty-one dramas of eighteen authors have been dealt with in the present volume. They are divided topic-wise in such groups as Biographical (11 dramas), Historical (9), Humorous (4), Mythological and Legendary (17), Political (2), Social (5) and Miscellaneous (3). The farces have rightly been grouped as a separate category as has been done all along the Indian tradition. Each of the plays has been summarised and critically appreciated, with apt quotations from the respective plays. The authoress depicts therein the special characteristics and peculiarities of each play indicating how each one contributes to the 'modernising' of Sanskrit drama. Throughout this elaborate treatment the authoress has tried to be as compact and to the point as possible. But here she has to present a study not of a work or works but of a whole literature as such. And a look at the treatment shows that she approaches her subject with a thinking and sensitive mind and brings to bear on it a critic's incisiveness mellowed by warmth of appreciative spirit.

Most of the plays dealt with in the present volume are stage-worthy and actually staged by such dramatic organisations as the *Prācyavāṇī* of Calcutta, the *Brāhmaṇasabhā* of Bombay and the *Sanskrit Raṅga* of Madras, and other smaller ones have been presented on the All India Radio. A few, however, appear to be mere literary exercises, so to say, the *Vimalayatīndram* of J. B. Chaudhuri and the *Prakṛtisaundaryam* of Medhāvratā being instances to the point.

It becomes evident from the present study that the modern Sanskrit playwright has ventured to come out of his shell and is beginning to give us a drama which breathes fresh spirit. He is well-disposed to making experiments and introducing certain changes in keeping with the demands of our age. A tendency either to avoid the Prakṛits or to replace them with modern vernaculars

is seen throughout these dramas. This trend appears to have started with certain fourteenth and fifteenth century dramas which introduced songs in contemporary vernaculars side by side the usual Sanskrit and Prākṛit verses and prose speeches.

Foreign words such as 'badminton', 'tennis', 'police', 'radio', 'station', 'bus', etc. have been incorporated in these modern Sanskrit dramas either being Sanskritized or even otherwise. Like the western dramas the Acts have now come to be divided into scenes. Nāndī and Bharatavākya are being discarded and even the *Prastāvanā* has started to be considered superfluous. The themes also are chosen in accordance with the need of the age. We find that Sanskrit drama is now turning slowly towards social, ethical and intellectual themes. The social problem of dowry, change of sex, history of India under British rule upto the attainment of independence, discussions on various topics concerning Western philosophy, Communism, Socialism and even the current politics, national and international, have provided themes for modern Sanskrit dramas. Lengthy songs with indication of the *rāgas* etc. are also found in several of these dramas. In short, new horizons are opening on the field of Sanskrit drama which is now progressing to a new simplified form and, as the learned authoress rightly concludes, all these trends and tendencies, if allowed to grow, are sure to bring new dimensions to it.

At the end are given title-wise, author-wise and topic-wise indices which certainly add to the usefulness of the work. The general get-up of the book is also very nice, quite in keeping with its contents. We may eagerly await an early publication of the subsequent volumes of this series.

J. P. THAKER

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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- (5) *Computation of True Moon by Mādhava of Saṅgamagrāma* : Edited by Shri K. V. Sarma, Published by : Same as above, pp. 66, Price : Not Printed.
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OBITUARY

Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt

Dr. N. Dutt passed away quietly on the 27th of November, 1973 in his residence (39, Ramananda Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-6). He was 80 at the time of his death. He was suffering from the ailments of old age for the last two years. In fact he never fully recovered from his last illness which took place two years back. Dr. Dutt lost his wife long ago. He had no children of his own ; but his nephew (sister's son) and his family lived with him and looked after him with reverence and affection. Although physically frail, Dr. Dutt had retained his sharp mind and untiring diligence till the end which came so suddenly. In his death the world of Buddhology suffered an irreparable loss. Dr. Dutt was always alert-minded ; and, so he could even review and reorient his previous works with a balanced and scientific attitude. It may be further clarified with the help of an example given below :

It is quite well-known that there exists a sharp distinction of ideology between the two sects of Buddhism i.e. Hinayāna or the earlier and Mahāyāna or the later Buddhism. Dr. Dutt knew the two schools equally well ; he attended, as I remember, the World Buddhist Conference that had taken place in Rangoon in 1960. From him only the present author came to know that the age-worn difference of the two Schools was going to be dissolved fairly in future. And a year ago, when I met him for the last time, I saw him working on his last book—Mahāyāna Philosophy. He mentioned incidentally, that this book would help much to eradicate the difference between the two main Buddhist viewpoints, and he further added that Buddha, as it appears, may be recognised as an exponent of Mahāyāna. Anybody including myself claiming some acquaintance with Buddhist Philosophy would be surely surprised. But Dr. Dutt cannot be easily ignored. It is good that the book has already been published ; we are all looking forward to its availability. Dr. Dutt's place in the world of Buddhism is to be acclaimed along with that of the other Giants, viz. Stcherbatskoi, Louis De La Vallée Poussin, Oldenberg, Sylvain Levy, Takakusu, Suzuki and many others. So far as the academic tradition is concerned, Dr. Dutt was a direct disciple of Louis De La Vallée Poussin himself.

Dr. Dutt was born on the 4th of December, 1893 at Waltair. He was the second son of his father Late Surendra Nath Dutt who hailed from Purvasthali in Burdwan. He was in Chittagong where his parents had settled later. He passed Entrance Examination at an early age of 14. He joined the Intermediate College at Chittagong with a peculiar combination of Physics, Mathematics and Pali. Possibly, he got interested in Pali because of the Buddhist surrounding

which could be found there ; thus, although he wanted to become an Engineer later, he unconsciously almost was preparing himself for becoming a great Scholar of Buddhism in future. He joined the Presidency College for his B.A. Examination and had secured honours in Pali after topping the list of the First Division candidates. He again got the first position in M.A. in the first Class in Pali from the University of Calcutta.

After he passed his M.A. Examination, he went to join Judson College, Rangoon, as a Lecturer. He was then brought back to Calcutta by Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the great patron of learning and the then Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. Dr. Dutt joined the newly established Pali Department and worked under Dr. B. M. Barua, the Professor and the Head of the Department of Pali. He further added P.R.S., LL.B. and Ph.D. degrees to his carrer. He obtained a State Scholarship and went to specialise in Buddhist Philosophy at the School of Oriental Studies in London. In order to further his researches, he was referred to the great scholar Louis De La Vallée Poussin of Belgiun by Professor Thomas of London University. D. Litt was conferred on him by the London University on this valuable work. His doctoral thesis, "Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism in its relation to Hīnayāna" won the appreciation of the entire scholarly world of Indology for its outstanding findings and painstaking thoroughness. Later he came back to the University of Calcutta and became the Head of the same Department after Professor Barua's death. He remained there till 1959; before retirement he was given several extensions for service. As he was almost irreplaceable, he could not retire so easily even though he willed to do so earlier,

I came into his contact in July 1957 and sought his guidance for my research work into the difficult field of Abhidharma Philosophy. I obtained study leave from the University of Patna where I worked. There I had studied the orthodox systems like Nyāya, Vedānta and Sāṅkhya and Buddhist scriptures like *Nyāyabindu*, *Pramāṇavārtika*, *Tattvasaṃgraha* and *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* with an eminent oriental scholar, Acharya Kedar Nath Ojha, Professor of Philosophy, Sanskrit College, Patna. Dr. Dutt first tried to dissuade me from my ambition of working in the field of Abhidharma; next time, after he became convinced of the sincerity of my purpose, he gave me a good brain washing. Later on, only after I proceeded further in my work, I fully appreciated the meaning of the term Kalyāṇamitra—the Buddhist term for a guide or a preceptor. Dr. Dutt was thus my eye-opener in the real sense of the term. I then knew why it is said about a guide—" *Ajñānatimirāndhasya jñānāṅjaṣalākayā, cakṣurunmilitaṁ yena tasmai Śrī Gurave Namaḥ.* "

From then onwards, he kindly allowed me to work in his valuable library; and, as an offer, it could not have been more generous on his part or more

useful for me. The library consisted of all the costliest and rare books from all over the world; the books were carefully selected and diligently collected and were also systematically read; the library could be taken as one of the best individual collections which consisted of books on Indology and Orientology, Phonetics and History and all the specialised studies in Science and Buddhism. In addition, the library had a collection of books in many languages of India and outside including Chinese, Japanese, French, German, Italian, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pali and of course English. Professor Dutt was particularly fond of his library. He was of opinion that one cannot work properly without a good library at hand. He spent money most generously on his library. He had plenty of money of course, being an industrialist and owning two textile mills at the time. Once Professor Dutt said jokingly, "I made an industrialist out of myself; or, how could I get hold of these rarest publications from all over the world if I were to remain just a University teacher, satisfied with 1000 rupees a month?" So far as the references would go, he was thorough and upto-date. Buddhist Scholars from all over the world came to him for opinion.

He had wonderfully combined luck (Lakṣmī) with learning (Vidyā) in him. He remained untiringly hard working in his fields till the end came. He had a well built stature and was diligently devoted to his work all through his life. He was a good administrator, a kind-hearted and helpful master of the house, a perfect gentleman and a loyal friend; with all these he combined wonderfully some of the western values like discipline, precision, time sense, love for freedom and respect for individuality. In him I could find a real guide who would have controlled and corrected me at every step and one who would have equally enjoyed if I could express rarely any meagre originality in my work. Thoroughly intellectually honest, Dr. Dutt seldom had any vanity in his ways; but one could feel the strength and distance of his self-made personality and pride which would gracefully be radiated from his sharp but smiling eyes and self-composed manners.

Dr. Dutt, apart from being a great teacher, was associated with various learned organisations and associations. He was the president of Iran Society, Institute of Tibetology (Gangtok) and Dharmankuravihar. He was member of the Governing Body, one of the Senior Vice-Presidents and Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Mahabodhi Journal and Treasurer of the Mahabodhi welfare home and orphanage. He was connected with the editing of the Historical Quarterly of India for a long time. Twice was he elected the President of the Asiatic Society. In 1958, his presidential report had shown the valuable facsimile of Aśokan edict that was lately found in Asia Minor. The edict was written in Greek and Aramaic on two sides of the stone slab. He was connected with the organ of the Greater India Society. He was a member of Rajya

Sabha where he represented the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. He was invited to Japan (1957), to Sikkim (1965) and to U.S.S.R. (1958) as an indologist and Buddhologist.

His life was more or less dedicated to the cause of Buddhism which he loved. After coming back from Europe, he undertook to edit the important Buddhist Vinaya text that came to be known as Gilgit Ms. Dr. Dutt was invited to Kashmir and there he worked hard to restore the fragments of the Ms. as he found it. He was assisted in his work by two Dogra Pundits ; but, the work itself was tremendously of his own. The restoration required a comparison with the Vinaya texts found in Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pali. Professor Dutt also knew German and French thoroughly well. The text was the only text to be found in India and written in Sanskrit and the importance of the text justified his hard work.

Besides, he edited the text of *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Yaśomitra) together with Dr. N. Law (I-III Kośas). Later the IV and V Kośas came out in his name alone. Some 17 books were written by him and each of them is a result of hard working and serious effort. A short Bibliography of his works is given below :—

1. Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism in its relation to Hīnayāna.
2. Early Monastic Buddhism (Part I)
3. Early Monastic Buddhism (Part II)
4. Buddhist Sects in India
5. Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh
6. Bodhisattva-bhūmi (Tibeto Sanskrit Mss. K. P. Jayswal Institute., Patna, Bihar)
7. —17 Gilgit Manuscripts (in parts).
8. Mahāyāna Buddhism.

He had written a large number of articles, all important from the scholarly point of view. It is our duty now to catalogue them all and edit them which would make several volumes.

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